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for the total evangelisation of every part." It was a well thought out campaign.

Latourette mentions many factors which contributed to the success of Taylor's efforts. Freedom to travel in Inland China and full toleration to missionaries and Chinese Christians had been recently guaranteed by foreign treaties, the four decades from 1865-1905 were a period of growing prosperity for the Protestant world. Large numbers of Protestants believed in the urgent necessity of providing the gospel for the non-Christian world. Taylor developed unusual powers of organization and administration. 9

All agree, however, that the most important factor was Taylor's faith and complete devotion.

The main factors in Taylor's mission policy, set out in the beginning or early in the life of the mission, were:

- (1) The mission was to be undenominational. Protestants of any denomination were accepted if they gave signs of promise. Education was preferred, but those with other talents were welcomed. Later missionaries were grouped denominationally in provinces. The mission was conservative theologically, but irenic.
 - (2) The mission became international.
- (3) No salary was provided, but missionaries were to trust God to supply their needs. The mission was never to go into debt.
- (4) No solicitation of funds was to be made and no collections taken at meetings.

⁸Leslie T. Lyall, <u>A Passion for the Impossible</u>, N.Y., Hodder and Stoughton, 1966, p. 40.

⁹Latourette, p. 385.

- (5) Missionaries were to conform to the social and living conditions of the Chinese and until 1900 to wear Chinese dress.
- (6) The direction of the mission was to be in China and not in Britain.
- (7) The purpose of the mission was not to win converts or to build a Christian community but to spread the gospel throughout the Empire. 10

In 1866 twenty-two missionaries, including the Taylors, arrived in China. In March 1865, there are said to have been only ninety-one Protestant missionaries in all of China.

Taylor experienced many hardships and much suffering. His five-year-old son died. In 1870 his wife and a new-born child both died.

Mrs. Taylor was thirty-three. There was opposition and discontent among the missionaries. He faced Chinese riots. Income from Britain declined.

In 1871, Taylor returned to Britain to "strengthen home support."

He had much support from wealthy, distinguished British families,

particularly those of the evangelical point of view, who respected Taylor

and who introduced him to others who could help. In 1872 he returned again

to China.

"In 1876 the organization had fifty-two missionaries, almost a fifth of the total Protestant force in China--seventy-five native helpers, two hospitals, and ninety-two stations and outstations. The mission too was stretching out into new provinces."

A visit of Dwight L. Moody to Cambridge in 1882 aroused considerable interest among undergraduates in 1882 and in subsequent years. As a result

of Moody's meetings and personal evangelism among students, C.T. Studd, the Cambridge cricket captain and six other undergraduates decided to volunteer to become missionaries for the C.I.M. Because of their social standing and athletic ability, the "Cambridge Seven" caused a great stir in Cambridge and in England.

Remarkable farewell meetings were held in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. It all aroused interest and sympathy throughout the country. The seven sailed for China in 1885.

"Their subsequent history was distinguished. Cassells became the first bishop of West China. Hoste succeeded Taylor as the General Director of the C.I.M., Studd after some years in China, went to India and Africa. The others served for many years in China with distinction. Sir Montague Beauchamp's son followed him and served as a medical missionary in C.I.M. hospitals until 1940. Stanley Smith's son became a missionary to Africa and founder of the Ruanda Medical Mission (CMS)."

John R. Mott was greatly influenced by J.E.K. Studd. Studd, a brother of C.T. and J.E. Studd, spoke at a meeting on the Cornell campus where Mott was a student, in $1886. \\ ^{13}$

¹² Lyall, pp. 55-56. See also John Pollock, <u>The Cambridge Seven</u>, OMF Books, 1985.

¹³ Studd's address greatly stirred Mott, who was then twenty-one years old. It was a "second conversion" or "decisive hour" of Mott's life according to Basil Mathews, one of Mott's biographers. Through Mott the challenge to missionary service in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was answered by many hundreds of young men and women through the Student Volunteer Movement. See C. Howard Hopkins, John R. Mott, 1865-1955, Geneva, WCC, 1979.

The third decade of the C.I.M. was one of consolidation after the rapid expansion of the first twenty years. In 1886, the field was divided into districts roughly according to denominations; there was an Anglican diocese, a Methodist area, a Presbyterian field, and districts where Baptists predominated. Comity arrangements with other missions were reached.

The mission also expanded internationally. Thirty different countries were eventually represented in the Mission, either as full members or associates.

After thirty years in China, the C.I.M. had 110 stations in fourteen provinces, 550 missionaries and 4,000 converts. Seven hospitals, sixteen dispensaries, and 128 opium refuges for the cure of addicts were in operation. ¹⁴

Despite the heavy clouds of war and internal strife in the 1890s, the missionary work went on. During the Boxer Rebellion, 79 connected with the C.I.M. were killed, including 58 missionaries and 21 children. After prolonged and careful consideration, the Mission decided not only to enter no claim against the Chinese government, but to refrain from accepting compensation, even if offered. Proclamations were posted up in all cities where there had been losses, the following is an extract from these documents: "The China Inland Mission requests the Governor to issue a proclamation, to be hung up in each of the Church buildings for the erection of which no indemnity has been asked, stating that the mission in rebuilding these churches with its own funds, aims in so doing to fulfill

¹⁴Lyall, p. 61.

the command of the Saviour of the world that all men should love their neighbours as themselves. Jesus in his instructions indicates forebearance and forgiveness, and all desire for revenge is discouraged. Mr. Hoste is able to carry out these principles to the full."

In the early twentieth century there were mass movements towards Christianity throughout China. One of the most moving features of this time was the turning to God of the tens of thousands of the despised aborigines in southwest China.

There was progress in the mission in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The total income from all sources for 1914 was \$411,633. It rose to \$599,716 in 1918. 16

Through all the years Taylor and his associates continued to conceive of their task as primarily that of giving a knowledge of the Gospel to as many as possible. Much itinerating was done, and pioneers constantly pushed into new districts.

Some people considered the work of the C.I.M. too diffuse and individualistic and believed it suffered by not being more closely tied to churches. 17

Hudson Taylor died on June 3, 1905, at the age of 73. The mission carried on the work he began forty years earlier.

^{15&}lt;sub>Marshall</sub> Broomhall, <u>By Love Compelled</u>, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1936, p. 51.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁷ Dr. Thomas Torrance said that his father left the C.I.M. for this reason. Dr. Torrance believed the mission was strongest in West China where it was closely allied to the Anglican church. Conversation on May 1, 1990, in Princeton.

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CENTER OF THEOLOGICAL INQUIRY 50 STOCKTON STREET PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

609-683-4797

Den port. Moffet,

I have almost forgotten to send you the gapen as promised I hope you find it of interest to you.

place feel free to intringe it, I sincerely welcome your critical comments.

with warm regards.

your Senceral Karver yn

f.s Grace's mother has just passet away and I am
Soring to Toronto for the fuserel, will be buch in Jan 22.

CHURCHES OF

CHINA

Taking Root Downward, Bearing Fruit Upward

by Britt Towery

Foreword by David M. Paton

Third Edition
Revised and Enlarged

APPENDIX EIGHT

Maps of China

1. Map of entire country with province names



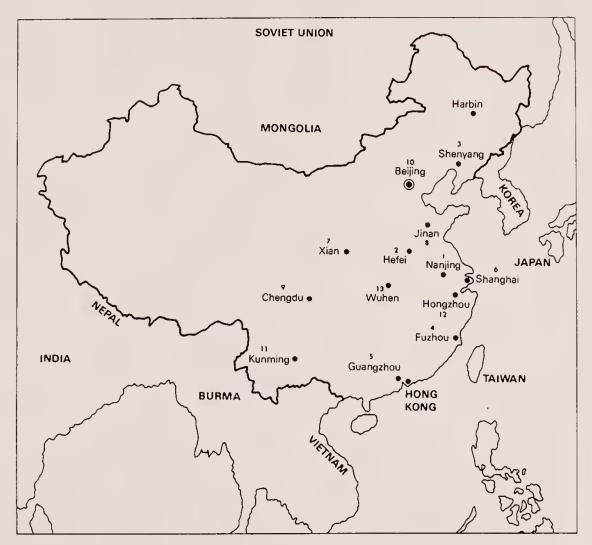
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- Capital

2. Seminaries

Location of the 13 China Protestant Seminaries

- 1. Jinling (Nanjing)
- 2. Anhui (Hefei)
- 3. Dongbei (Shenyang)
- 4. Fujian (Fuzhou)
- 5. Guangdong (Guangzhou)
- 6. Huadong (Shanghai)
- 7. Shaanxi (Xi'an)

- 8. Shandong (Jinan)
- 9. Sichuan (Chengdu)
- 10. Yanjing (Beijing)
- 11. Yunnan (Kunming)
- 12. Zhejiang (Hangzhou)
- 13. Zhongnan (Wuhan)



IS, and IS TO COME

"During those years the Lord brought these songs to me so the time was not wasted," he smited. He told of miraculous intercession when he was saved from being erunched between two coal cars white doing forced tabor in a coal mine during the years of his imprisonment.

Because of the lack of seminaries, four young men were being trained by the pastor. One presented

Audio visual equipment in Bldg 35, before taken away by police

the lesson to the 60 or more people who attended a class that Monday evening. They were preparing to receive baptism at the completion of the series. Following the hymn singing and an hourand-a-half of teaching, the crowd divided into small

groups where they enthusiastically entered into discussion about the issues

of the lesson — morality and sin. Not understanding Chinese aflowed us to observe the complete involvement of even the newcomers in the sharing.

The building where all this activity was taking place is about 20 feet wide and perhaps 40 feet long. It is wedged between similar structures on a street too narrow for ears but used as a pedestrian way and front yard by the many who tive there. During church services and Sunday School, people fill both floors of the house-church, the pastor explained. Small speakers, attached to the



Entrance to Samuel Lam's street, De Ma Zhen, off of #5 Zhong Sham Road

walts, allow those on the second floor to participate with the third floor congregation, he said. A tiny balcony with access by a ladder looked as if it could accommodate ten or twelve more bodies if their tegs hung down over the front.

During our visit we met a talt visitor from the northern part of China. He had traveled many days by bus with hope of acquiring Bibtes and teaching materials for his house church. It was devastating to think that he had made such a long trip for nothing. Maybe next time . . .?

By Ruth Johnson January 1990

On February 28th and also on March 11th, Pastor Lam was again confronted by government officials who demanded that he register his church. But as before, Pastor Lam refused. Since these confrontations, the police have summoned Pastor Lam four additional times for harassment. The last time, on April 10, he was told that all of the fans in his home were going to be confiscated.

Sources reveal that the Guangdong Government has found Pastor Lam quilty of five charges, yet no formal action has so far been taken against him. In China, there are three government departments involved in prosecuting capital-punishment cases: the Public Security Bureau, which carries out arrests; the Bureau of Investigation, responsible for prosecutions; and the Supreme Court, which handles sentencing. Of these, it is reported that two have made recommendations for Pastor Lam's execution.

Amazingly, on April 16 the police rung Pastor Lam to inform him that they were going to suspend action against him, as they had no time to deal with his case. Consequently, Pastor Lam is quite free, despite his still being under house arrest. He is as vigorous as before and continues to share the Bible with brothers and sisters, who often come in groups to

visit him. It seems that the pressure brought to bear against him has been somewhat lifted.

Pastor Lam's greatest concern at the moment is that he cannot supply brothers of other provinces with Bibles and devotional books as he used to do, because they were all confiscated. Despite the risk this involves for him, Pastor Lam hopes that fervent brethren will keep on bringing him books.

Though all formal church activities have been stopped in Damazhan, "fellowship gatherings" have never ceased. Church members keep on coming, asking their pastor to teach and guide them. The afflicted pastor and brethren have a remarkable testimony for having stood firm in their trials.

Sources: China News and Church Report, 2 Mar 90, 16 Mar 90, 15 Jun 90, 29 Jun 90; News Network International, 5 Apr 90, 7 Jun 90; China Prayer Letter #94, Oct 88, #95 Nov 88.

The reason for this is not hard to determine since China's pro-democracy movement was started by students and supported by the relatively affluent urbanites. But at no point was the involvement of Christians, both officially and unofficially, in any way crucial to the events of May and June of 1989.

The Eastern Europe "Concern"

BUT this stand-off between church and state altered radically with the rapidly unfolding events in Eastern Europe in the autumn of 1989.

Soon after Poland's dramatic move toward political pluralism, sources in the Chinese government leaked to Hong Kong ministries that there was "a moderate amount of concern" among the top leadership concerning the crucial role the Roman Catholic Church played in developments there. Yet the Chinese leadership was not unduly worried.

China possessed no correspondingly powerful institutional church that enjoyed the fierce loyalty of more than 90 percent of its people. But they were sufficiently moved to begin a crackdown on China's pro-Vatican Catholics, of which there are an estimated several million.

An order was issued for the arrest of its top leaders. Ironically the leaders of China's unofficial Catholic church had met for a secret national conference in late 1989, stirring suspicions that they were plotting an insurrection against the government. By the end of the year, some 32 Chinese Catholics were arrested — including nine-bishops — although official government spokesmen have denied any such round-up.

The Romanian Factor

ALTHOUGH pressures on the Catholic church did not directly affect Protestants, events in Romania changed everything. The Romanian revolution shook the Chinese leadership to the core. The extent of the shake-up is plain from high-level documents leaked or published in 1990.

According to a January document leaked to Overseas Missionary Fellowship sources in Hong Kong, two factors caused the Romanian revolution in the opinion of the Chinese leadership. One was the disloyalty of the armed forces, and with the Chinese leadership relying on the 27th Army to restore order in June, it prompted questions over whether the military forces could be trusted in an emergency.

Second, in the eyes of China's leadership, the

Romanian revolution was sparked by a Baptist pastor in Timisoara, Lazlo Tokes, whose resistance to government interference in church affairs acted as a catalyst for expressing public discontent with the Nicolae Ceaucescu's regime. Unlike Poland, Romania did not have a powerful institutional church, but its large underground revival movement, while dormant and suppressed, eventually rallied in an overwhelming show of support for Tokes' right to self-determination.

The Beijing leadership could not ignore the force and the threat to their power base of a large unofficial revival movement. Although China's Protestants are known to be determinedly apolitical, new documents reveal that they are under scrutiny as a potential destabilizing political force.

"Wolves in Sheep's Clothing"

THE first document, titled "Wen Jian," was circulated to all universities, think-tanks, and the Ministry of Culture, warning that foreign Christian professionals in China could be a significant source for political destabilization. They were branded "wolves in sheep's clothing," and the relevant authorities were urged to "identify and watch closely" the activities of Western workers.

On January 13, Beijing acted on its suspicions by expelling Japanese professor San Qi Qing, who was accused of conducting Bible studies with Chinese students.

On March 5, U.S. Christian businessman John P. Cragin was deported for "conducting missionary activity since last October," according to the Xinhua News agency report. Cragin is believed to be the first businessman/"tentmaker" to be expelled. In the past there have been expulsions of Christian teachers, but rarely business professionals. Sadly, some of the local Chinese in his circle have been arrested.

The remainder of 1990 promises to be a difficult one for Christian tentmakers, though as one Beijing-based worker said recently, "We came back prepared for trouble." In fact, only 50 percent of those who had left in June 1989, actually returned, but those who did reported a new interest and willingness to talk among the Chinese about the Christian faith. One teacher said, "I've been here four years, and I can say that the second half of 1989 was unsurpassed for opportunities to witness."

The Coastal Crackdown

A SECOND high-level document was distributed to provincial authorities in February, expressing

Continued from page 1 Hope Knp. (gunellum Chae)

Continued from page 1 ministry in China.

nationals' responsibility.

The school's location and its emphasis on practical ministry were other key factors in her decision to scriously consider CMS as her next step in preparing for Christian ministry.

2) Effective church growth in the Third World depends on the creative and spirit-filled leadership of pastors and lay leaders.

1) The burden of communicating

the Gospel and making disciples in

the Third World must primarily be the

3) Asians must be trained in Asia in order to curtail the brain drain, to save the Lord's money, to deal with the particular Asian issues they face, and to produce leaders in quantity as well as quality.

Chinese Mission Seminary (CMS), founded in Hong Kong in 1987, adheres closely to the principles sct by Dr. Ro. Realizing that the task of China evangelism is largely the responsibility of Chinese believers, CMS was created specifically to equip Chinese Christians from Hong Kong and clsewhere for this task. Both its full-time training program for pastors and evangelists, as well as its parttime lay-training program, place special emphasis on spirituality training — the equipping of the inner person for Gospel ministry. This is a dimension of training which is often neglected in traditional seminaries.

By offering its training in Hong Kong, the Chinese Mission Seminary removes the need for students to travel long distances and pay large sums of money in order to receive a quality theological education. Furthermore, Hong Kong provides a veritable laboratory for studying Gospel ministry within the Asian context, as well as a convenient window on China.

Chinese all around the world are recognizing the unique role the Chinese Mission Seminary has in the future evangelization of China. One prospective student, originally from Mainland China, said she was attracted to the school by its emphasis on spirituality training, as well as by the faculty, all of whom are committed to China evangclism and are well-versed in the dynamics of church life and

As the Chinese Mission Seminary enters its fourth year, it faces a number of challenges, one of the most urgent being the need to purchase additional li-

brary and dormitory A suitable space. property adjacent to the CMS campus has been found, and a down payment has already been made. Now the faculty, staff and students of CMS are trusting the Lord to provide what is necded to complete the purchase. Please pray with us for the Lord's provision.

If you would like to have a part in meeting this special need, you may send your donation to Chinese

Mission Seminary, 1 Kao To Village, Lai Ping Rd., Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong. (For Australia, Canada, Germany, U.K., and U.S.A., use the appropriate address listed on page 8.)







The HOUSE CHURCH That WAS, and

A foreign guest describes Samuel Lam's Church as she saw it a month before it was shutdown and ransacked by China's police.



THEY sit there hour after hour, making tapes. The incongruity of it hit us

— large "boom boxes," as the dual tape cassette players are known — here in a house church in China, being used to copy Bible lessons and sermons prepared by the pastor, Brother Samuel Lam.

"The girls quit their government jobs and work full-time here," he beamed. His pride in their efforts brought shy smiles to the two faces as we were introduced. What seemed

like an endless supply of tapes were piled in the tiny cubicle. They would be carried to many similar "hidden" churches throughout southern China and eagerly absorbed by Christians, otherwise bereft of any form of teaching materials.

Tucked into an opposite corner was the pastor's small bed, the only sign that we were in living quarters.

A partial wall screened this section from the large room filled with church benches.

Our intent had been to bring Bibles, concordances and teaching ma-

terials to the church, but the books were confiscated at the border — discovered when they x-rayed our luggage. Even empty-handed, we had been given a loving welcome by the Hongkong-educated pastor.

"We have about 400 people who attend on Sunday," he said. "Some come to the morning service, some to the afternoon Sunday School, and the rest to the evening service."



Literature used in Damazhan Church, before Guangzhou officials closed it down

Imprisoned 20 years for his Christian activity, Pastor Lam told of writing the hymns that were now mimeographed and stapled together and used as the church hymnal.

The Arrest and Return of Pastor Lam

AT 11:30 p.m., under the cover of darkness, on February 22, four government officials representing the Religious Affairs Bureau, the Neighborhood Mediation Committee and a Regional Government office entered Pastor Lam's home with a search warrant, interrupting a late-night meeting of an estimated 100 worshipping believers.

All but a dozen believers promptly left, making room for 50 to 60 uniformed police to crowd into Pastor Lam's house and begin ransacking his home. It was 4:00 a.m. before they finished. Nearly everything in his house was confiscated, including 10,000 Bibles, hymnbooks and tracts, all tape recorders and microphones, an electric organ, a generator, a closed-circuit television (used in a down-stairs room for groups 100 large for the up-stairs meetings), amplifiers and the church treasury (reportedly 10,000 RMB — over US\$2,000).

The dozen believers who had not left, being from out of town, were taken to the police station for interrogation and later sent back to their provinces. After the search, Pastor Lam

was also taken to the police station. He was subjected to a 21-hour interrogation, with only one ten-minute break.

Before searching his home and during the interrogation, the police and government officials pressured Pastor Lam to sign a document which would register his church with the TSPM (Three-Self Patriotic Movement), put Pastor Lam persistently refused. He did, however, sign a document at the end of the interrogation agreeing 1) to be obedient to the Government with regards to closing down his Damazhan Church, 2) not to do anything harmful to the Government or to the people of China, and 3) not to leave Guangzhou, so as to be readily available to appear at the Public Security Bureau at a moments notice.

On 12:40 a.m., Sunday, February 24, Pastor Lam was returned to his home, but the police posted a government notice on the door of his house forbidding "illegal religious meetings." And the police were there in the morning to turn away would-be worshippers.

China and the **Protestant Ethic**



Members in Jiangsu Province Meeting Point Church opening a box of simplified script Bibles from the Amity Foundation Printing Press.

Slightly more than a decade ago China turned suddenly from the extreme collectivism of Mao Zedong and began encouraging economic activities that looked suspiciously capitalistic. At the same time China's Christian community—and especially its Protestant portion—which by all appearances had ceased to exist as an organized social force, reappeared in surprising numbers and has since been growing at a remarkable rate.

That coincidence reminds one of Max Weber's famous thesis in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Weber thought he had discovered in the ethic of Calvinistic Puritanism a force which significantly shaped the development of modern economic culture. He described this Protestant ethic as a kind of "worldly asceticism." Embracing it, one worked hard and conscientiously not to secure monetary pleasures but to fulfill a religious calling.

Remarkably, for 3,000 years a kind of "worldly asceticism" has

also been promulgated in China, in some ways a "Protestant ethic" without Protestantism. In one version it has been linked with the name of Confucius, in another with the name of Mao Zedong.

Confucius inherited and popularized an ancient moralistic theory that rulers exercise power by a Mandate from Heaven. If and when the ruler's governance ceases

During ensuing decades of revolution and chaos, Confucian ideas and models still operated within Chinese life, but conservatism overpowered creativity.

to be beneficial and his lifestyle exemplary, Heaven withdraws the Mandate, and it becomes the right and duty of someone to displace him. Below the emperor, Confucius taught, the social order rested upon everyone cultivating a life of

industry, integrity, simplicity, frugality, studiousness and propriety.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, venality and hypocrisy had become ingrained among reactionary Confucian officials, oppression and exploitation among the Confucian gentry and poverty and ignorance among the masses. A still essentially medieval China then faced the modern imperialism of Japan and western nations.

The Mandate of Heaven was thus discerned to have been withdrawn, and in 1911 the emperor was overthrown. During ensuing decades of revolution and chaos, Confucian ideas and models still operated within Chinese life, but conservatism overpowered creativity. In 1934 those good Methodists, Generalissimo and Madam Chiang Kaishek launched a kind of neo-Confucian/Protestant "New Life Movement" that possessed many stereotypical characteristics of the Protestant ethic. There were campaigns against spitting, smoking, drinking, immodesr dress and

excessive makeup, against superstitious practices and lavish weddings. But with corruption and exploitation rife, Chiang's "New Life Movement" began to look more

Hard work, we observed, became the sign and seal of salvation....

and more like moralistic fascism. When the Japanese war ended, it became clear that the old order had exhausted its moral capital and Heaven's Mandate was changing again. It was time for a new ethos.

My personal introduction to that ethos came only a few days after Mao's Eighth Route Army occupied our Tientsin neighborhood. A soldier appeared at our door and requested the loan of a bicycle. Under the circumstances one could hardly refuse. But after a week and no bicycle, I plucked up my courage and visited the neighborhood police station to complain. A stern non-commissioned officer promptly appeared at our gate with a bicycle and a promise that the culprit who borrowed it would be punished. Thus we received our first lesson in moral rectitude under the Maoist ethic. Soon we discovered it also included plain living, selflessness and rejection of materialism and pleasureseeking. Hard work, we observed, became the sign and seal of salvation, with labor heroes and even whole communities like Dazhai being constantly held up as models for ever greater, unremitting effort. Drab, baggy unisex dress, straight short hair with no makeup for women and drastic sanctions against extra-marital sex all reinforced the traditional Confucian concern for sexual restraint. Frequently husbands and wives received postings in different cities, and at the height of the commune movement common kitchens and dormitory living discouraged

personal and familial intimacies.

When we left China in 1950, every public building prominently displayed five characters: wei ren min fu we—Serve the People. Every citizen was expected to "struggle" through public confession and repentance, seeking a conversion to eliminate self-centeredness in favor of a steadfast commitment to the "people" for, according to Mao, "The people is God." All attending for this purpose were to step forward and, by laying a red paper heart on a table/altar, "give their hearts to the Party." Mao's portrait became an icon, his writings sacred scripture.

Returning to China in 1979, I found the aura of this Maoist ethic of worldly asceticism and communal devotion still quite evident. Inquiring of young people about their ambitions, I heard "To serve

Incessantly moralistic propaganda campaigns and pressures to "struggle" for Maoist sanctification simply wore people out.

the people" or, perhaps, "To do what the Party asks me to do." Honesty about returning lost items was almost eerie, as was a staunch refusal to accept tips, which were thought to stink of private profit. Sharing wealth equally, they would "eat out of one big pot," as the Chinese phrase goes. All would be secure in their fundamental needs; they would have an unbreakable "iron rice bowl."

But even before Mao's death in 1976, his ethic was crumbling. Incessantly moralistic propaganda campaigns and pressures to "struggle" for Maoist sanctification simply wore people out. Arbitrary shifts in the political line made it impossible to be sure of what was right or wrong. The stupidities of

Pastor greeting woman after Sunday service; Nanjing, 1987.



backyard steel production and ultra-deep plowing in the Great Leap Forward lead to famine. The senseless violence of the Cultural Revolution scarred hundreds of millions and created a lost generation of youth, betrayed by their own idealism. Gradually a realization spread that the oppressive landlord and factory boss and corrupt official were still there—only now they were the State and the party cadre.

The second communist revolution, under Deng Xiaoping, emphasized the need to "seek truth from facts." With this new openness, the extent of Maoism's moral crisis became evident. A 1988 survey by the Chinese Academy of Social Science indicated that 88% of city dwellers believed most cadres to be corrupt; indeed, 46% of the cadres admitted they were! A 1989 issue of the Beijing Review, China's principal organ of information to the outside world carried two headlines on its cover, "China's Push For Clean Government" and



Man with newly purchased Chinese Simplified Script Bible, Jiang Pu Meeting Point Church, Nanjing, Easter 1989.

"Cartoonist's Fight Against Corruption." It featured a cartoon depicting an unctuous official addressing a meeting while one arm reached behind his back to grasp a bundle of banknotes, a bag of cigarettes and liquor, a carton with a TV set and a string bag with a goose and a chicken.

Deng's economic reforms generated some of the pressures on morality. They reinforced the Confucian/Maoist virtue of hard work by allowing peasants and entrepreneurs to profit personally from their efforts. As a result, wealth in the society expanded, as did the potential rewards of corruption. Because reform loosened controls

How might an ethos of hard work be reconciled with absolute employment security?

on information, temptations in the glittering world outside China—with its luxury, freedom and excitement—beckoned more strongly.

In the late 1980s, China's first light industrial products exhibition was cancelled due to an embarrassing shoddiness in much of the merchandise. A government sponsored conference reported that half of all state and collective enterprises evaded taxes. Indeed, there were thousands of violent acts against tax officials, some involving crippling and even murder.

Such alarming developments raise questions that penetrate to the heart of the Maoist ethic. How might an ethos of hard work be reconciled with absolute employment security? Those possessing inviolable access to an "iron rice bowl" apparently have little incentive to diligent labor. Despite at least 120,000 surplus workers on the payroll, Shanghai's factories hired almost 60,000 temporary contract workers. Why? According to the World Economic Herald in that city (now closed down!),

permanent employees felt it beneath their dignity to do "hard, dirty and tiring work." Two people may be responsible for sweeping a passageway; as many as six women look after three children; and several hundred passengers may miss a train because ticket inspectors doze on duty.

All "eating from one big pot" risks being unjust to the conscientious and corrupting to the lazy or careless. There is an increasing perception of immorality in the deeply ingrained Confucian habit—reinforced by the People's Democratic Dictatorship—of obedience to superiors. A daring early 1989 article in the *Beijing Review* referred to this practice as "whateverism"—whatever Mao said or whatever the latest swing of the Party line calls for, defines what is right.

These problems are not cited to obscure China's remarkable achievements after 1949. Life expectancy has doubled; the infant mortality rate has dropped well beneath that of Washington D.C., and literacy has vastly increased. One could easily compile an equally lurid American ethical scenario featuring corruption, vice, drugs, environmental rape and economic idiocy which pays a Junk Bond King \$550,000,000 in one year and invites Savings and Loan

Christianity in China has been often criticized, and sometimes brutally persecuted for its alleged "foreignness."

operators to steal billions. The point is not to compare societies; it is to take seriously the concerns of Chinese themselves. The great demonstrations in April and May 1989 protested pervasive corruption and suffocating authoritarianism. If anything, the ethical crisis may have worsened since then.

Can China expect help from

Christians? Before he became the chief executioner of Tiananmen Square, Li Peng talked with Billy Graham about China's need for new moral power. One Beijing Review cover story featured religion in China and suggested that it may contribute to society's well-being. A former Red Guard has spoken of his generation as lost and utterly alienated from a manipulative official ethos: "Some turned to their families, others to materialistic pleasure—but many others were attracted to organized religion." Of those presently attending church at least a quarter are young people.

Christianity in China has been often criticized, and sometimes brutally persecuted, for its alleged "foreignness." But through this quality, particularly in its Protestant form, a personal and social ethos quite different from that of 19th century Confucianism entered the nation. Writing in 1974, John K. Fairbank credited 19th century foreign missionaries with "the spread of literacy to ordinary people, the publication of journals and pamphlets in the vernacular, education and equality for women, the abolition of arranged child-marriages, the supremacy of public duty over filial obedience and family obligations, increased agricultural productivity through the sinking of wells and improved tools, crops and breeds, dike and road building for protection against flood and famine, public health clinics, discussion groups to foster better conduct, student organizations to promote healthy recreation and moral guidance, and the acquisition and Sinification of Western knowledge for use in remaking Chinese life." Communist revolutionaries, he noted, reinforced and extended all these so that, in some degree, the missionaries "helped to foment the great revolution."

Despite the internalization of much of their ethos, Christians are

still a tiny minority among China's billion plus people. Official figures suggest that a Protestant community under one million in 1949, when the communist regime

Christians today, I gather, are striving to reinforce an ancient and honorable element in both the Chinese and Protestant ethics—diligent and dedicated work.

arrived, has now multiplied five fold. More realistic estimates expand the Protestant total from ten to twenty million or more. Catholics were more numerous in 1949, nearly three million. Today the same figure is commonly given, probably because there has been no serious effort to collect Catholic statistics. Still deeply divided and harassed over questions of loyalty and obedience to Rome, Catholics appear be less visible and active in public affairs than Protestants.

Christians today, I gather, are striving to reinforce an ancient and honorable element in both the Chinese and Protestant ethicsdiligent and dedicated work. In response to my question about what Christians might contribute to China's officially trumpeted need for "spiritual construction," a newly consecrated Protestant bishop immediately replied that they are commonly regarded as model workers. Indeed, a recent government report states that "a great many [Christians]... play leading roles in the development of China's commodity economy.'

Christians' second distinctive contribution, according to the *Beijing Review*, is their commitment to social service. When a congregation in Anhui learned of plans for a new road, 200 people donated not only their labor, but supplied their own tools and food. Recently the



The author and Bishop K. H. Ding traveling togerher in 1983. Behind and between them is Han Wen Zao of the Amity Foundation.

Agape Social Service Centre, established by the Christian Council of Guangzhou (Canton), opened a kindergarten for children whose particularly infectious form of hepatitis excludes them from ordinary kindergartens. It provides not only education but medical treatment and research. Now the Center is developing other services for convalescents and the elderly, as well as vocational training.

The Christian community also exemplifies international cooperation in social service. The Amity Foundation of the China Christian Council channels many millions of overseas church dollars for service ptojects and skilled foreign personnel for educational and development programs.

Chinese Christians are generally known for advocating and exemplifying the standard virtues of both the Ten Commandments and the Chinese tradition. The *Beijing Review* recently noted Christian earnestness about honoring parents, avoiding murder and adultery, stealing and lying. Christian

folk spirituals of rural Henan province focus on familiar moral injunctions:

When Granny believes in the Lord, She changes her bad temper and is renewed...

When a girl believes in the Lord She does not play wild but learns to embroider...

When a young man believes in the Lord.

He does not loiter and cause trouble...

He becomes a good man after his conversion.

Group conversions among tribespeople in Hunnan province have been credited to their perception that Christians save lots of money! This is because they shun the drunkenness and extravagant sacrificial and celebratory rituals of their traditional beliefs. The Protestant ethic indeed!

Is there a still more distinctively Christian contribution? Someone asked Confucius, "What do you think of repaying evil with kindness?" He replied, "Then what are you going to repay kindness with? Repay kindness with kindness, but repay evil with justice, or severity." In contrast, Christian spirituals sing of forgiveness: "When others hit us, we do not raise our hand; when they curse us, we do not grow angry; when others curse us, we smile."

This Christian ethic of reaching out with giving and cating beyond the normal bounds of self-interest or reciprocity helps explain why Chinese churches grow. Reports on almost every congregation's development includes anecdotes of sympathetic care and generous help extended to neighbors in distress and to more distant disaster victims. Christians in China are, of course, not moral paragons, any more than those in the USA-or in the New Testament. One can find bickering within churches, self-seeking and bureaucratism, sexual transgression by ministers and exploitation of superstitious ignorance. The thought-world of many fast-growing rural congregations is primitive and isolated. There the gospel becomes a call to abandon the "world," with its atheistic, hostile government and impoverished living conditions, in favor of personal spiritual salvation and Christ's imminent return.

A more inclusive concern for a structurally moral society is also needed. Recent dialogues between a Chinese-American and Beijing intellectuals made two things clear: their defiant mood toward the intensified repression since June 1989 and their considerable interest in Christianity's implications for the dignity of individuals and the rule of law. Many more sophisticated Christians affirm the Maoist ideals of equality and justice, giving priority to meeting the basic needs of all, but expressing special concern for the poorest and the elimination of social warrants

for selfishness. They want these ideals to prevail, not by the psychic violence of communist dictatorship but in freedom.

Consider Bishop K. H. Ding, chairman of the China Christian Council and clearly Protestantism's paramount leader and probably Chinese Christianity's most prominent spokesman. Describing himself as "an incompletely Christianized Chinese intellectual with a sprinkling of the Confucian heritage," he played a major role in achieving Protestant Christianity's modus vivendi with Mao's regime. He has been a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, China's legislature, and a vice chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. While affirming the general line of socialist development, he has been a forceful and effective advocate for greater religious liberty as a crucial element in general social freedom. He supported the 1989 student demonstrations.

It may be that Christians will contribute most profoundly to ethics in China by providing a transcendent perspective on life and its issues. Raymond Fung of the World Council of Churches puts it this way: There is in the very act of going to church in China "a protest of the heart

It may be that Christians will contribute most profoundly to ethics in China by providing a transcendent perspective on life and its issues.

against an uncaring bureaucracy and . . . against accepting that people live by bread alone. . . . People come to church . . . trying to be a part . . . of that which . . . , by its very existence, delivers a defiant message that 'Life must be more.'"

Cheng Naishan, one of China's

most distinguished and acclaimed writers, speaks of Christian hopes. "One Sunday in 1979 I 'chanced' to pass by Mu'en Church (in Shanghai). Snatches of a hymn came to my ears. I was attracted by it in spite of myself, and I entered the packed church. . . . 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, . . . 'The hvmn shook me to the core. I believe that this was God, calling to me. From then on, I went often to the church.... I went to breathe in that atmosphere, that peace and tranquility, that air of love. When the dove released by Noah returned with the newly-budded olive branch in its beak, it bore in its body all the hopes of humanity. . . . We of faith must also be people with a sense of mission, calling to that dove."

There, in that dove of transcendent hope, may be lodged the core of a Christian contribution to China's ethical existence.

This article, revised and updated for publication, was originally presented as the second Bartlett Lecture at YDS on April 13, 1989. A missionary in China just before and after the communist takeover, David Stowe directed overseas ministries for the National Council of Churches in the 1960s, and served as executive vice president of the United Church Board for World Ministries from 1970 until his retirement in 1985. Since 1979, he has made six extended visits to China. Mr. Stowe studied Chinese at Yale and holds B.D., Th.D. and D.D. degrees from the Pacific School of Religion.



Christians in country churches of China often learn new hymns as someone leads and teaches them with the aid of words wrillen out on a sheet and hung for all to see

make you free, ye shall be free indeed!" They attend the Bible studies seriously, examining if these things are so. Of course, many of them finally accept Jesus as Savior. Following the villages, the explosion of evangelism now burns in the cities.

Another unusual phenomenon: many house churches both in villages and cities are being served by pastors and evangelists who actually are ordained pastors or regular evangelists of TSPM – the officially recognized church. They were ministering in the officially recognized church according to regulations to show their law-abiding conduct and docility. But, guided then by the Holy Spirit, they felt that they should serve our Lord and the people more consientiously. So they ignore the principles of TSPM (e.g., that outside the legally recognized church building, all religious activities were banned). They gather with believers in regular homes and become active house church leaders.

Amidst these unusual house churches, in Chekiang province, some house church leaders formerly were government cadres. Now they run after Jesus. Some of them confront much trouble from the authorities who want to push them back to the government. Yet, they would rather be persecuted and stick to serve the house church! It is not necessary for me to say more how China's church grows. You all have heard and know that the church in China grows mightily.

The Needs are Many

Since the mid-1970s, Honan Province has become the most populous Christian area. Today we suppose there are more than 10 million Christians in Honan. The particular churches with which I am involved grow mightily and amazingly. In one region, our ministry extends from one city to five counties and six districts.

As usual, qualified leaders are in short supply. It is a mountainous region, with the believers scattered on the mountains. Following their tradition, they accept only elderly people to teach and preach. They don't like young Christians to teach them.

One of my co-workers who is the senior pastor of this region oversees 137 meeting points personally. He never ceases to preach, to teach and to travel. He is old and feels it hard to climb up and down in the mountains, but he has to continue. For 365 days a year, he trains Christian workers daily. When the trainees want to serve on the mountains, first of all they have to wear their beards long! As for me, I go there to teach in the Bible seminars, but not to preach on the mountains. Though I am quite old judged by my exact age, yet I do not wear



a long board. Therefore, I am not qualified to preach in the mountain areas! Some local Christians have suggested that I should wear my beard long, but I know that this will cause great surprise and suspicion when I travel in south China.

In this region, material also is in great short supply. Before the Cultural Revolution, there was a Lutheran church in the city, built upon a spacious lot. It had numerous rooms and spacious auditoriums. The church owned about 310 benches, each one accommodating eight persons. This church property today is still occupied by the authorities. Several years ago,

the authorities gave the local church a small lot with an empty building without one bench as compensation for the confiscated former property. Many believers walk miles from the city to the meeting place. They have no alternative but to stand all day long in the service or meeting today.

In Xia-Ton area, the meeting points have grown to eight now. Most of the buildings are not big enough; many believers have to stand in the open air. The local pastor said to me: "What we have in this mountain area are burning sun and torrential rains. Every time I see those brothers and sisters suffer from sun and rain, my conscience feels in debt and guilt." He expects to erect shelters for those meeting places but is short of funds.

This time he said to me: "Every time I mention this situation to you, you always say 'YES,' but no help has come. Now be sincere. If you really have difficulty, please tell me, then we will not harbor any illusions on shelters." In fact, I will be very pleased if I might help them to build shelters. That's why I always reply "Yes." But the realization docs not depend on my will; it depends on God's will, His will be done!

Hunger for Bibles and Books

Though believers add to the Honan Church daily and the church in Honan grows rapidly, many new believers are without enough qualified workers to teach them. Yet, evangelists and Christians in Honan still eagerly devote themselves to evangelization. They come to ask for ministry material and personal evangelizing material. Do you know how much they ask for? See the list below:

1. Basic truth of Faith,			
1 + 2		. 500	0 sets
2. How much you know about	Fai	th	
1 + 2			
3. Treasury of good news			2000
4. Streams in the desert			
5. Evangelization			2000

6. Is there a God or Not?	1000
7 Jesus — Son of God?	1000
8 Is the Bible revealed by God?	1000
9 Christian catechism	1000
10. Story of Christ	1000
11 Pilorim's Progress	1000
12. Beloved	1000
13. Fundamental Bible Study	1000
Lessons	1000

All the above-mentioned titles are books, not tracts or pamphlets. All the books are asked by churches in one region which are overscen by one senior pastor. All the books will be used for pioneer ministry and evangelization. If I could move an entire bookstore to Honan, no one bookstore could supply completely their demands. I talked to my coworkers and we agree that the big volume of books should be printed inside China. There is no fund to buy so many books in Hong Kong, and there is no one able to carry thousands of books crossing the border. We need your prayers.

(Hence, in Catal China)

The revival in Honan is great, and it is moving in other provinces as well-such as in Northeast China (also known as Manchuria), where the Manchurian, Mongolian, Hui people, and Korean national minorities are scattered. Their population altogether is very small compared to the great population of Han Chinese. In the last 10 years, the number of Christians has increased tremendously fast, especially in North Manchuria. Usually over one thousand believers gather in one meeting point, and meeting points are increasing in number miraculously. They call, "Come to teach us!" They plead for a large volume of books and Bibles. They even suggest to me: "If you feel incapable to do so, go and contact those Gospel Radio programmers. They promised in their broadcasting that we may ask for materials and they will fulfill." Yes, we have made quite a few promises, but how much we have accomplished?

The Urgency is Great

Friends abroad still voice concern for the victims of the flood which occurred in October 1989 on Hainan Island. This summer, violent floods even swept over central China and southeast China. People long for quiet, yet the natural calamities bring unrest, shattering, and tragedy. To awake them to the fact that Jesus alone saves is now of great urgency, a matter of paramount importance for the Chinese people. Pray for China!

Together In His Great Commission, Brother George 1990

M decided it would be better to die than to watch her husband cruelly murdered. She bolted and fled. At 60 years of age, she outran those who chased her, because she was convinced that her husband was being killed. She made her way to Village Y. Eventually, her husband also made his way to Village Y. Convinced of his wife's death, he asked a group if anyone had yet seen the body of his wife. To his surprise, there she was among them, alive and well!

 \bullet \bullet \bullet

The above journal entries were made while I had the privilege of teaching a seminar on the subject of bilingual education. Frequently I asked our Father to guide and lead me. My part was to let Him use me, so He could do what He wanted. I believe those prayers were answered, along with those of many prayer supporters. God used the seminar to clarify in the minds of key people what they will need to do to make their dream a reality.

Their dream is for more efficient and more effective education, of opportunities for everyone to learn in a language he/she knows well, of lots of literature in all languages of the country. One desired result is to see higher value placed on all Mozambican languages. Another desired result is to see a higher success rate of those who attempt to learn Portuguese, the official language of the country.

Mozambicans are special people. All races are represented among the masses as well as among their leadership. Though there were limited educational opportunities during the colonial period under the Protuguese, several are now getting their PhDs. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), the program agency of Wycliffe Bible Translators, has been asked (in a small way) to provide training which will equip them to do the work themselves. This work includes not only linguistics but education and literacy. Some of the churches also are requesting Bible translation.

Pray for the peace of Mozambique. Major political changes appear to be under way. Peace talks have begun. Pray for wisdom, insight, love, and peace for all concerned. The kinds of wounds (and possibly even bondages) related to the stories above often leave gaping emotional scars on individuals. Pray for total healing of the nation.

Yours in Christ, Julia Van Dyken P.O. Box 44456 Nairobi, Kenya



CHINA ANNOUNCES RESULTS OF FOURTH CENSUS

On October 29, China released results of its fourth national census, conducted last July. The figures highlight problems China will face in its attempt to control population in the com-

ing years.

According to the *People's Daily* (31 October, 1990), the State Statistical Bureau states that the population of the 30 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities which are directly under the administration of the Central Government of the Mainland has come to 1.13 billion. Including the statistics revealed by the authorities of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau, the total population of China comes up to 1.16 billion—an increase of 125 million since the last census in 1982.

The statistics show that the male population is 584,949,922, accounting for 51.6 percent of the total population. Furthermore the female count is 548,732,579, amounting to 48.4 percent. The ratio of female to male is 100:106.6.

As far as people groups are concerned, 91.96 percent of the total population belongs to the Han nationality, while the ethnic minorities have come to 8.04 percent of the total. Based on the statistics of the census conducted in 1982, the growth rate of the Han nationality is 10.8 percent versus that of the ethnic minorities, which is 35.52 percent.

The census also shows that China's birth rate is 20.98 per thousand; the death rate, 6.28 per thousand; the natural growth rate, 14.7 per thousand; and, that about 180 million Chinese

are still illiterate.

Despite the *People's Daily's* comment that the census reveals China's achievement in controlling population growth, in truth, the census figures leave little over which to boast.

With a population of 1.13 billion, China will face grave difficulty in its efforts to suppress its growth rate. According to analysts, 1991-1993 will be a baby-boom age with an upsurge of

women reaching child-bearing age (averagin 64 million women at ages 20-24 each year Predictably, an increased burden will b loaded on the already problem-laden societ and national economy.

The imbalance in the sex ratio forecasts tha increasing numbers of men will have to remain bachelors in coming years. The lower number of females is undoubtedly the result of increasing numbers of female fetuses or baby girlubeing eliminated, either through abortion, in cities where modern technology allows the parents to identify the gender of the fetus, on by drowning, the practice in rural areas where sex is not known before birth.

The privilege granted to the ethnic minorities which frees them from strict adherence to the nation's one-child policy has contributed to the sharp rise in the minorities' growth rate. This surely will cause concern to the Beijing Government, who today has mounting fear over separatist movements

among minorities.

The census does give a significant index which the Government can use in planning its population-control strategy. However, with the baby boom coming, the gap in the malefemale ratio on the increase, and the minorities' population growth rate exceeding that of Hans, the census reveals that China has cut out for itself a much more arduous task for controlling the population than it has had previously in the implementation of its unpopular population-control policies. — China News and Church Report, November 8, 1990.

FROM THE PHILIPPINES: A CALL FOR HELP

Dear Friends:

The occasion for writing is an impending Home Service period, in which we must do deputation in the U.S.A. from May 27 to December 1, 1991. It is during this 6-month time period that we need to mature, ordained pastor and wife to take our places in our church planting and development assignment here in Dagupan City. We are committed to the Biblical norms undergirding the Reformed Faith and its order for church planting and spiritual growth.

We need a couple who are unreservedly committed to the historic Reformed faith as expressed in the Three Forms of Unity, the Church Order of Dordt, and the original Oath of Office in the CRCNA. This level of commitment and quality must be maintained and continued among the 12 young and growing Filipino single Christian men and women, plus two young married couples with infants, who form the Dagupan City Christian Reformed group.

Do you know of someone who might be interested in serving for 6 months in this new, dynamic growth site? We need to hear from you, and we have clearance from our Field

Director to write this letter.

Our home is provided—safe, comfortable, and adequate for work preparation. A Mission-funded vehicle, 1989 Nissan Double-Cab Pick-Up with canopy, is provided for all travel requirements. An attractive ministry center is located 100 yards from our home (also a good Chinese Restaurant next door!).

We are fully occupied seven days a week in seeking to win our lost contacts and friends to Jesus. We also have a ceaseless program of believer's instruction in the Biblical and Reformed Faith. A brief list of weekly activities for the visiting pastor couple is as follows:

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1. Live in Mission-rented home and occupy mission-rented Ministry Center. Maintenance is provided by our housegirl and yardman.

2. Preach expository messages once per Sunday, in English. Administer sacraments.

Shepherd the steering committee.

3. Teach Sunday morning Membership Training group from the Compendium. Teach a weekly Saturday p.m. Ministry Team Class for three men, preparing them to participate in leading worship services, to preach an expository message, to function as elder or deacon, to carry out congregational service projects requiring ruling elder work or diaconal assistance; and, to plan for special group activities.

4. As the Lord opens the way, begin Evangelistic Bible Study with interested persons.

5. Teach a three month weekly seminar, 8:00 a.m. to noon, in Systematic Bible Doctrines to interdenominational lay leaders eager to grow.
6. Have fellowship with and encourage other

missionaries on Area Team.

Our city, Dagupan, was devastated in the July 16 earthquake in that she sank, and continues to sink. Our home and surroundings were not damaged. Roads around here have been cracked and with subsequent rains and floods, repair has been too slow and nothing has much improved. This country is ruled by greedy politicians who think only in terms of what they can get out of all these crises.

We also conduct Bible Studies in Baguio City, which was very badly hurt by the July 16 earthquake. Baguio is the resort center of the Philippines. Situated on top of mountains about 90 kilometers from us. Baguio normally takes an hour and 30 minutes to drive up to. We now take 2 hours. The road is passable, with bad spots where the road was demolished from rock slides. We are thrilled to be invited to help these people in Baguio. Baguio is on the point of bursting into the Kingdom of God, with the sober, Scriptural guidance of a Reformed man.

Please recommend someone who can come over to help us. We need continuity within the work while we are away. God bless you for thinking about this and praying with us!

In His service, Rev. and Mrs. Dick (Evelyn) Bouma P.O. Box 56 Dagupan, Pangasinan Philippines 2400

SEEKING THE JESUS OF THE BIBLE

(continued from page 8)

Unfortunately, there is no let-up in persecution. And it takes many forms. In some areas of this world, resistance to the Gospel is crushing, where missionary efforts have almost been erased twice in this century.

At the same time, a resurgent Islam is coming to us with all the expertise of the West. Islamic Dawah (missionary) centers in strategic countries are stocked with attractive literature, including children's books. Others give details about Christian missionary efforts in countries like Mali, India, and even among the Fulani tribes in West Africa!

It takes a lot of sanctified Christian wisdom to know how to react to all of this. We know that we are engaged in a spiritual battle for the souls of men and women. Regardless of the difficulties we face, we can rejoice in the fact that we serve a risen Savior and that our missionary endeavors are in the hands of our sovereign God.

We press on with the only task we have been given—to be faithful in witnessing to the end. We forsee a fantastic harvest when the barriers are removed and God's time for the conversion of countless Muslims has come.

Arabic Broadcast The Back to God Hour 6555 West College Drive Palos Heights, Illinois 60463

SECRETARY NEEDED

I.D. E.A. Ministries is looking for a secretary with typing and office skills to serve on full- or part-time basis, beginning immediately. Persons with keen interest in joining a faith support ministry specializing in mission promotion, recruitment, and field training are invited to send information to Dr. Dick L. Van Halsema, President, at the address below.

I.D.E.A. Ministries 4517-A Broadmoor Avenue S.E. Grand Rapids, Michigan 49512-5339 Telephone 616-698-8393

and action.

Radio, Christian Communications Ltd.. and other smaller specialist agencies active in reaching a particular Chinese minority, need funding to continue their existing ministries and develop new ones.

(The author is consultant of Overseas Missionary Fellowship's China Program.)

		Population of Chir	na's Nationalities		
Nationality	1990 Census	Li	1,110,900	Achang	27,708
·	(population)	Lisu	574.856	Pumi	29.657
Han	1.042.482.187	ablaa	351,974	Tajik	33,538
Mongolian	4.806,849	She	630.378	Nu	27.123
Hui	8.602,978	Gaoshan	2.909	Uzbek	14,502
Tibetan	4,593,330	Lahu	411,476	Russian	13.504
Uygur	7,214,431	Shui	345.993	Ewenki	26,315
Miao	7,398,035	Dongxiang	373.872	Deang	15,462
Yi	6,572,173	Naxi	278.009	Bonan	12.212
Zhuang	15,489,630	Jingpo	119.209	Yugur	12,297
Bouyei	2,545,059	Kirgiz	141,549	Jing	18,915
Korean	1,920.597	Tu	191,624	Tatar	4,873
Manchu	9,821.180	Daur	121,357	Drung	5.816
Dong	2,514,014	Mulam	159.328	Oroqen	6,965
Yao	2,134,013	Qiang	198,252	Hezhen	4,245
Bai	1,594,827	Bulang	82,280	Moinba	7,475
Tujia	5,704,223	Salar	87,697	Lhoba	2.312
Hani	1,253,952	Maonan	71,968	Jinuo	18,021
Kazak	1,111,718	Gelo	437,997	Total	1.133,682,501
Dai	1,025,128	Xibe	172,847		

Note: the figures presented in the tuble include military servicemen.

Chance legle And the Wald P. 12

^{*} The table is taken from *Beijing Review*. December 24-30, 1990.

THE MANY FACES OF CHINA'S THREE-SELF CHURCH

Anthony P.B. Lambert Special to News Network International CHINA-1990

There arc many ways of looking at the Three-Sclf Patriotic Movement, China's official Protestant church. But what is the meaning of the Three-Self? Is it the stated Three-Self principles of self-government, self-support and self-propagation? Is it the Three-Self Patriotic Movement whose purpose is spelled out in constitutionits?

This Committee is the anti-imperialist, patriotic organization of Chinese Christians whose objective is, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's government, to unite all Christians in China...

It is all these things, and much more. In practice, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) controls the church in accordance with Chinese Communist Party policies, as is abundantly clear from such internal documents as Document 19 of the Central Committee. It clearly states that "party committee at all levels must powerfully direct and organize all relevant departments" to control religious affairs.

Yet, it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that all pastors and church workers working under the TSPM umbrella are necessarily "party hacks." In traveling around China, this reporter has been struck by the wide variety of ways in which the TSPM system is imposed on churches. In some areas there is an iron-hand control; in others, a great degree of flexibility. Further, Christian leaders working in the churches within the TSPM system range across the whole human spectrum.

What follows is a sampling of this spectrumor, perhaps, one could say it is the human facc of the Three-Self.

The Party-Liner

Like most pastors, he was elderly. Pastor Zhang was also thin and wiry, and showed signs of nervous agitation. His small church is in a back street in one of West China's small cities where few Westerners venture. There was not even a sign posted at the courtyard gate to indicate the existence of a church.



Interior courtyard inside the "Forbidden City," palatial complex housing the Chinese emperor and his court until early in the 20th century, Beijing, China.-All DLVH photos, October 1985

The church was dingy. It had enough benches and chairs to seat about 60 people. In the presence of the young party officials who accompanied us at every turn, Pastor Zhang showed great deference. Grace before meals could not be undertaken without permission from a party cadre from the Foreign Affairs Bureau, who was half his age.

While the party people were relaxed, and chatted normally, Pastor Zhang peppered his conversation with obsequious political propaganda at every opportunity: "We are so grateful to the party for its policy of freedom of religious belief . . . We fully support the Three-Self movement," and so forth.

On the one occasion when I was able to visit Pastor Zhang in his modest home, even then he was still tense. Two Bible commentaries—like rare gold in this part of China—were received in stony silence, without thanks.

Finally it was time to board the bus for an eight-hour trip through the mountains. Pastor Zhang kindly accompanied me onto the bus. But when I suggested we pray together, he became agitated. "Oh, we can't pray here," he said nervously. "Prayer is a religious ceremony and can only be conducted inside church buildings. Anyway, it might influence other people who overhear us"

I left that city with a sense of sadness. Later a knowledgeable Chinese friend said that away from the major cities and coastal regions, tight control of the church is the norm across much of China's vast rural hinterland.

The Evangelist

"We have about 150 people at our meeting point. Even though we were registered, the authorities tried to close us down along with a number of unregistered house churches. So we prayed and fasted, and went back to the government. I said, 'How can all these old ladies get to the big city church? It's unreasonable!' So they backed down, and now we can meet again with no problems. God answered prayer!"

The elderly evangelist smiled gently, as we sipped tea while balancing on small stools in a quiet courtyard in a busy coastal city.

"I preach regularly each month in the big city churches," the evangelist continued. "Once I preached on the Lord's second coming. After the service, a TSPM official confronted me and told me that this was going against government policy. I told him firmly that I would continue to preach on whatever was written in the Bible. He walked away, and I've not heard anything more."

Although this evangelist works openly within the TSPM-controlled churches and meeting points, he also said that on occasion he conducts "illegal" baptisms in the countryside ponds and rivers. He and his wife have a great love for their congregation, many of whom are elderly women and widows. "We were going to use the collection moncy to buy new chairs, but then the Lord showed us that we should give the money to the elderly widows who have very little to live on."

After prayer together, he embraced me warmly—a touching gesture, as Chinese are normally undemonstrative.

The Elder

"Since last year things have really tightened up. The government has imposed new restrictions. For years I used to go out into the countryside to preach. Now it's not allowed. I might get arrested by the police."

Elder Liu and his wife invited me to their home after the Sunday service at his church. In the last 18 months several hundred people, both young and old, have been converted and baptized. This large city church has a lively ministry attracting many students and young people.

"Up in the hills," he continued, "where there were no Christians, there are now three thousand people who have turned to Christ. But the new TSPM regulations forbid us to go out to minister to them. So sometimes Christians come into town for fellowship. The TSPM has not changed its nature; they still want to control the church and they don't want it to grow."

Liu explained the complexities of what was happening behind the scenes. One or two of the leading pastors were known to be "political" and were shunned by the local Christians because they had been involved in the TSPM accusation campaigns of the 1950s. This led to the persecution and arrest of many Christians.

The senior pastor was an evangelical, but he lost his zeal because of his involvement in government and TSPM administrative work. Several other TSPM pastors preached the gospel faithfully but were under growing pressure. One pastor who used to receive Christian books from overseas to distribute in his region could no longer do so because it was not safe. He had held a small meeting in his home, but

even though he was a registered TSPM pastor, this recently had been forbidden.

Christian students were discriminated against by being given poor jobs after graduation. Christian teachers had been threatened with dismissal because of their faith and witness.

All these pressures had increased since the Beijing massacre last year, but Liu was optimistic about the continuing spread of the gospel.

The City Pastor

"In New Testament times," the pastor told his congregation, "the religious authorities united with the secular powers to persecute Jesus and the carly Christians. Today in China there are some TSPM pastors who do not worship God in truth. They collude with some government cadres in secret to impose restrictions on the church. But then they say this has nothing to do with them and disclaim all responsibility. In our city, 20 meeting points recently have been closed down by the authorities. Please pray that they may be reopened."

I could hardly believe my own ears. I was sitting at the back of a large city church, which was packed with hundreds of attentive listeners. Young people sat on the stairs, Bibles propped on their knees, taking notes on the sermon. The pastor had openend his sermon by powerfully proclaiming the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ.

He then proceeded to explain how the Pharisees had persecuted the Lord. But I never expected him publicly to apply this Biblical teaching to present-day China. Such things were whispered by Christians in the privacy of their homes—not proclaimed publicly from TSPM-controlled pulpits!

Later I learned that this brave pastor had taken a public stand because many Christians in the city felt much the same. He believed that the government's stated policy of religious freedoms, as guaranteed in China's constitution, should be implemented in practice. In recent months left-wing party officials have drawn a tighter noose around the church. Even within the TSPM itself many are dissatisfied with continuing political control.

In a recent speech to party bureaucrats, Bishop K.H. Ting, chairman of the TSPM, complained about growing repression and warned that this would drive many Christians underground into house churches beyond the reach of government control.

Within the TSPM framework, conditions vary significantly from place to place. Spiritually, those working under the TSPM umbrella cover a wide spectrum. Pastors, evangelists, elders, and believers are preaching, praying and working for God under varying degrees of political control. They work

alongside, or under, some whose motivation may be far from truly spiritual.

Yct God's Spirit is at work, often in surprising ways, in spite of the system. However monolithic in intent, the party's attempts to control the church have clearly failed to stop the Christian community from growing at a faster rate than ever before in the history of the Chinese church.

Anthony P.B. Lambert is consultant to Overseas Missionary Fellowship's China Program, and resides in Hong Kong.



Church in Xian, China, with worshipers beginning to leave after a morning service.

THE CHILDREN IN OUR LIVES

Thea B. Van Halsema

I have been thinking a lot about the children lately. Maybe it is the arrival of twin granddaughters to join our other precious children's children. Or the little boy lost and wailing in the supermarket yesterday. Or the newborn left in near-freezing weather on the steps of a church in our city last week. Or the report of Iraqi troops leaving incubator babies on the floor of a hospital while they made off with the machines that had kept those helpless little ones alive. Or several young friends who are struggling in adulthood with the trauma of their childhood sexual abuse.

The world is full of helpless hurting children. They are orphaned and starving in faraway places. They also live within touching distance of us all. While we give generously for children at a distance, let us not forget our responsibility to the children close at hand, beginning

in our family circle.

There is a growing body of research about how indispensable to children are the gifts of time and touch and stable love given especially through the security of parents who also provide consistent limits. At the same time, the pace and demands and goals of American life today have pressured even Christians into ignoring or rationalizing away the needs and importance of children. We mean to do better, most of us, but we are swept along with the tide of our culture. Schools and sitters, television and outside activities become the substitutes for meaningful family time and interaction.

In the Fall 1990 Time magazine special issue on women, there is an article about children written by a woman whose new book is entitled, When the Bough Breaks: the Cost of Neglecting Our Children. Sylvia Ann Hewlett discusses the special financial strains on today's working families, who "must work twice as hard to stay even." She deplores the lack of time together, noting a California survey of eighth-grade students which showed "latchkey children twice as likely to usc drugs and alcohol as children supervised by adults after school." She quotes the Family Research Council in Washington that contact time between parents and children has dropped 40%

in the past 25 years. Hewlett ends her editorial, "No society can afford to forget that on the backs of its children ride the future prosperity

and integrity of the nation."

God has a body of research about children, too. The Bible could be called a book about children. It is the book about God's plan to have himself a countless multitude of children redeemed and remodeled in Christ, to whom their heavenly Father is available day and night with his love and wisdom. It is also a book about children in earthly families, both godly and ungodly. The importance of children and children's children is a reechoing theme of the Old Testament. God's everlasting covenant with Abram was "to be your God and the God of your descendants after you for the generations to come" (Genesis 17:7).

Jesus, though not an earthly father himself, taught his disciples and all of us how important children are. Matthew, Mark, and Luke each record a version of his words, "Whoever welcomes a little child like this in my name welcomes me. But if anyone causes one of these little ones to sin, it would be better for him to have a large millstone hung around his neck and to be drowned in the depths of the sea" (Matthew 18:5-6). Those are strong words!

Matthew and Luke further report how Jesus was angry with his disciples for trying to keep the children from bothering him. "Let the little children come to me," he said, "and do not hinder them" (Mark 10:13-16, Luke 18:15-16). Then Jesus hugged the children and blessed them. You and I need to pray for the mind and heart of Christ and his Father in the priority

we give to children.

This means mounting lawful protests against abortion, pornography, TV violence, and immorality. It means being in the front ranks of providing various kinds of help to single parents and to families with special needs. It includes looking for ways to reach the children of our communities. Recently I spoke with a woman who had organized a Bible story and craft club for the neighborhood children who got off the school bus in front of her home every day.

CHINA'S CHURCH IN 1990: AN OVERVIEW

Dear Brothers and Sisters in our Lord:

For the last 12 months, the religious policy for the church in China has not been particularly tense. The long-expected Religious Law was completely formulated in the end of 1989, by which the authorities wanted to govern all religious activities.

Unexpectedly, however, the Justice Department of Communist China struck down this Religious Law, because the Justice Department could not tolerate another unit enforcing laws beside them. For that reason, the government Religious Bureau at present has no effective measures to govern house churches and their activities.

This means that no steps have been taken in general against house churches. From all the things that have happenend to my co-workers and friends, we may figure out that local authorities sometimes try their best to restrict any progress or spreading of house church growth. Let me give some examples of this.

Examples of Local Harassment

In April, Brother Zhang led two sisters from the countryside to Canton for Bibles and other reference books. When they left Canton, they were caught at the train station and detained. After five days they were released, but their Bibles, literature, cassettes, and cassette recorders all were confiscated. Brother Zhang returned to Shanghai. A few days later, 50 policement surrounded his house, rummaged through all his belongings and then detained him in the police station for 32 days. Finally, under bail (actually, a fine), he was released but not convicted.

Brother Shum, a retired teacher who became an evangelist, went to visit Xinjiang churches. He was detained for 56 days—a local regulation states that the church workers from outside Zinjiang would be detained for two months as a punishment. Brother Shum fell sick while detained, so he was released a few days earlier than the stipulated time—and not convicted.

Sister Yang was arrested again in the end of September 1990 at her home town of "XM." She had been imprisoned many years for her faith during the Cultural Revolution. However, her brother, a powerful house church leader, has not been touched.

Brother Cheung was appointed as a pastor in a district "Three-Self" church. Last Spring, he used his vacation to go to Anhui Province with other Christians, to preach the gospel to unreached people there. His mission venture was discovered by TSPM authorities, so he was

fired and removed from his pastoral office last June. He now has become an itinerant evangelist, with this testimony; "I am happy to be free in a mission venture for the Lord. Formerly, I fancied a regular salary as necessary support, but I was a soul-betrayed fellow. Now that I am no more under bondage, I can be a faithful servant for Jesus Christ."

It is clear that on the surface, China's official policy claims to preserve religious freedoms. But, in reality, Chinese authorities and the TSPM leaders exert every effort to hold back or even harass the Church. Although no official law obstructs the growth, local authorities threaten and punish believers. However, this



Congregations of Chinese Christians in rural areas often meet in open courtyards to worship the Lord. (All photos supplied by Brother George.)



Children's class meetings in palm-branch-roofed shelter in a Chinese village. The roof was paid for by contributions from Christians in the U.S.

actually pushes the progress of Christianity! God be praised!

Despite Hardships, the Church is Growing

It is known all over the world that inside China, qualified church workers are in great shortage. But without pastors and evangelists, lay believers often become very effective in evangelization. In a village of Hebei Province, the believers said: "Our house church is based in the countryside, and we serve our Lord while we farm. We beg the Holy Spirit to give us power to be His witnesses. Each Sunday, more than 180 believers gather from villages all around. We hold the worship meeting the whole day except mealtime. We dismiss late at night. Every Wednesday and Friday nights we hold meetings, too. As the Holy Spirit moves, believers unite in one to build His church..."

So it appears unnecessary for us to worry that there are "not enough trained ministers" in China. Only let us listen to their demands, as the Hebei believers tell us, "We are anxious to have Bibles and literature."

For a village church "QS" in Hainan Island, we built a house in 1985 which could accommodate 100 attendants. Now about 200 families in "QS" village, with at least 1,000 individuals young and old, are believers! Futhermore, many believers from other villages join the "QS" church to worship. In extreme urgency, they are seeking a bigger building in "QS," and more meeting buildings in nearby villages.

Tension with the "Official" Church Authorities

Regarding the TSPM (the "Three-Self Patriotic Movement" church), tense relation-

ships between the leaders of such local congregations and their members are being reported in many areas. In QP County, the local Three-Self leader appointed a seminary graduate of the East China Theological School as pastor of a local congregation. The young pastor thought that his salary was too little, so he told the believers to give him more money. For example, this past summer he suggested that the believers also should provide him an allowance for cold drinks and beverages

Now believers of QP church entirely dislike thier young pastor. First they said: "This young pastor goes to the Religious Bureau, informing the government on everything. He does not walk in the manner befitting a pastor." Secondly, they complained: "The young pastor who is appointed by Three-Self authorities is avaricious: he always talks about the unfair treatment of his salary, because the pastors based in cities receive much more than in the rural counties." Believers in China think that in dedicating his life to the Lord's work, an evangelist should be willing to sacrifice, to live a life with hardships. How could an evangelist dislike plain living?

The believers in QP County said: "Most members of our church are poor people. We do not understand why anyone needs cold drinks for the summer season. This young pastor demands an extra allowance for cold drinks: he is disgusting!" The believers of QP County dislike their pastor. But since he is appointed by the TSPM, they cannot oust him from office.

Members of a Three-Self church in Anhui Province also have complained. Recently, TSPM authorities sent a theological school graduate to their church as pastor. The local believers know that this young pastor has a criminal record of theft. Because of this record, he could not find a job. Only because his father is an ordained pastor of TSPM, the young man was admitted to the seminary and later was sent to the church in Anhui Province as pastor. The Christians say: "How can we accept such a person as our pastor? He lives and works not for Jesus, but for his belly. We don't want him!" But there is no alternative for Christians in the government supervised TSPM Church.

The TSPM authorities in China even fear Christians who live together in one community. In NX town, over 60 elderly women live in one house which formed a home for the aged. They all are Christians, so they read the Bible and pray together daily. The women shared the truth of Jesus Christ with everyone who went to visit this house.

The local Religious Bureau disliked this, so, earlier this year, the local authorities announced that all organizations should register. Under this excuse, the religious cadres went to the women's home in July and said: "Your house surely forms a community. We want to check and see if it is legally permitted to exist." The leader of the house said, "Our home for aged women is not an organized community. We just love to live together, and there is no law being broken." But the religious cadres finally charged that the home was operating without necessary rules and regulations, and that the financial accounts were not in order. An order was issued for the house to close at once and all 60 elderly women were forced to leave.

But this was not the end of the story. Nine of



Brother George preaching in a house church.

the elderly women actually had nowhere to go, no place to settle down. Also, under pressure of the Religious Bureau, no other Christian family was permitted to receive them!

In China there is a saying, "A cornered beast will do something desperate." The nine clderly sisters went directly to the Civil Administration Bureau and claimed that the government ought to help them to settle down, because they had nowhere to go. The Civil Administration Bureau was in a bind. Since the Religious Affairs Bureau ordered the closing of the women's home, the Civil Administration Bureau could not say "Reopen the home!"

Eventually, the Civil Administration Bureau agreed that the nine Christian women may rent a house and live together as they please. The Religious Bureau originally had accused the home of not having the necessary rules and regulations, and that their accounts were not in order. Now the Civil Administration Bureau has ruled that the new home for nine women does not form an "organization," but that it is a house for relatives and friends living together. As such, the new home is exempt from the requirements for a charter and for formal accounting procedures!

Urgent Needs: Bibles and Evangelist Training

Bible distribution for national minorities in Southwest China is an urgent task. Tribal people have their own dialects and literature. Following the Cultural Revolution, all their Bibles were destroyed. Since 1988, eight tribedialect Bibles have been published and stored up. It is a brand new policy in China that national minorities may have their own language Bibles now. Distribution depends largely on how many can be contributed by Christians abroad. For instance: in the Zao Tong region of 11 counties, the present population of Miao tribe is 180,000 people. Of them, 22% are believers, most of whom have come to know Jesus in recent three years. They have no Bibles. Furthermore, the Miao tribe people scattered in Keichow Province come to Zao Tong looking for Bibles.

the Paul Society In Yunnan Province there are at least 150,000 Lisu Christians. In Nujiang, an area adjoining Burma, we hear that there are 40,000 Lisu believers, most of them desperately poor. They ask for Lisu Bibles and some funds to build shelters for meeting houses.

The project to train leaders is an urgent need. For instance: the Theological Seminary was restored in Kunming in 1988 for leaders of that province, including Christians among all national minorities. Today there are 60 students from 12 tribes in one class. Each class needs to study three years to complete the curriculum. The school headmaster told me that there are now 2,500 evangelists from all parts of Yunnan Province on the waiting list for admission to the seminary! At the present rate of admitting new students, even without adding new applicants, how many years will it take to meet the need?

Why don't they start another class? There is no room in the dormitory. Right now each room of only 120 square feet accommodates eight students on double-deck bunks. They do not have enough room even for teachers now. However, if gift funds are available, the Kumming Theological School might extend its building, be able to look for teachers, and to enroll more students. Even now, it is hard for them to maintain the present operation.

Meanwhile, we must hold Training Seminars for evangelists from time to time and place to place. It does not cost much. Pray that 1991 will be a greater year for His ministry and harvest. Your prayers and concern are most appreciated.

In Christ, Brother George

NOTE: Prayer and financial support for Brother George's ministry in mainland China is channeled through the Paul Society, 5417-A Broadmoor Ave., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49512-5339 (telephone 616-698-8393). Gifts for the purchase of Bibles for national minority Christians in China, for training seminars, and for other aspects of Brother George's ministry are needed and may be sent to The Paul Society (which forwards all gifts without deducting administrative costs). — The Editor.



Brother George (center, first row) meets periodically with village evangelists in groups such as this one. Chinese house church evangelists face possibility of arrest and serve at great personal sacrifice. Contributions for their basic support are requested by the Paul Society (see note at end of this story).

WORLD SCENE

HINDUISM

Yoga Missionaries

"There will be no TV evangelism, no mass meetings in football stadiums," but there is a growing missionary spirit in Hinduism, writes the editor of *Hinduism Today*. Reverend Palaniswami, a Hindu monk living in Hawaii, says that if by *missionary* one means "attitudes and strategies of



Reaching out.

aggressive world proselytism," then the popular belief that Hinduism is unconcerned with missionary enterprise is correct. "On the other hand, if ... we mean an eagerness to share our beloved faith with those who want to know of it," the stereotype is "dead wrong."

In an editorial entitled "An Open Letter to Evangelicals," which was also published in the missionary newsletter Pulse, Palaniswami writes that "the

West is clearly open to the Hindu message" and points to several reasons. "There has been an unprecedented influx of talent and money from the West in the past 30 years," giving groups such as the Hare Krishna, the Radhasoami, and the Sai Baba movements the ability to reach out through grassroots efforts.

Yoga, meditation, mysticism, and inner healing "were too sophisticated for public consumption 30 years ago, but today they're the hottest item on the shelf. Not a small part of this phenomenon is related, indirectly, to the coming of the New Age movement," Palaniswami says. Noting that nearly one-sixth of the world's population is Hindu (other sources say about 13 percent), he says, "a small army of yoga missionaries" is ready to go to the West. "They may not call themselves Hindu, but Hindus know where yoga came from and where it goes."

CHINA

Bishop Blasts Missions

A high-ranking bishop of China's government-registered Protestant church, the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM), has criticized virtually all forms of international mission efforts to China, as well as Chinese Christians who remain outside the TSPM. Bishop Shen Yifan, thought by many to be the man most likely to succeed the current head of the TSPM and the China Christian Council, Bishop K. H. Ting, delivered his attack in a speech given to a TSPM conference in Shanghai. The text of the speech was recently published.

According to a report from News Network International, Shen said that "international anti-China forces are using Christianity to undertake every kind of subversive activity." He included overseas Christian organizations involved in "tentmaking" programs, such as teaching and social work, cultural-exchange programs, and Christian broadcasting and literature ministries that have not come under the direction of the TSPM.

"They vainly want to split our church ... and foment enmity against the People's government and the Chinese Communist party," Shen said. "We must be on the alert and resolutely unmask them and prevent them." Anthony Lambert, veteran China observer for Overseas Missionary Fellowship, says Shen's speech was surprisingly harsh, coming from a Christian leader, and indicates the TSPM is now following a hardline communist course.

BIBLE TRANSLATION

More Languages Complete

Books of the Bible have been printed in 1,646 languages and dialects, and complete Bibles have been published in 318 as of the end of 1990, according to a report released by the United Bible Societies (UBS). More than 80 percent of the world's population now have access to the Bible or a Scripture portion.

Since 1989, Bibles in four languages and New Testaments in fifteen languages were completed, including three that are the first recorded Scripture translations. But while emphasis is often placed on additional languages, John Erikson, general secretary-elect of the UBS, says "one should not overlook the even larger number of languages in which significant revisions of earlier translations have taken place, or in which additional portions of the Bible have been made available."

The UBS report includes translation work published by many different agencies and points out that not all translations are currently available.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS

Briefly Noted

Under construction: The first Protestant church building in Islamabad, Pakistan. The project faced five years of confrontation between local Muslim leaders and government officials, including former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Saint Thomas Church, a parish of the Church of Pakistan, will be the second Christian church in the capital city. A Roman Catholic church was completed in 1979.

Back in prison: This time, as a visitor, Dave McBride, an Operation Mobilization missionary to Nepal. He was allowed into Phidim prison, where he had been jailed for 68 days in 1989, on charges of illegal evangelism (CT, April 7, 1989, p. 47). Reforms in the Hindu nation opened the door for his two-day visit, during which he passed out literature and Bibles to prisoners as well as to one guard.

Re-established: The Salvation Army in the Soviet Union. The Army, which was active in Estonia and Latvia before

World War II but was banned after the Soviets annexed the Baltics in 1940, opened a branch in Latvia and hopes soon to begin social work in Moscow and Leningrad.

Named: David Beckmann, 43, as president of Bread for the World. Beckmann, an economist and ordained pastor, succeeds Arthur Simon, who founded the antihunger organization in 1974.



Beckmann

David Hope, as bishop of London, considered the third most-important post in the Church of England. Hope, 50, has expressed reservations about whether the church should ordain women and has made guardedly conservative comments on the issue of homosexual clergy.

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leader, said during his Wednesday night speech, "I think God is up to something here."

One thing on which NEA convention members resoundingly agreed was adoption of a reaffirmation of the Bible as the sole authority for believers, and of abortion and homosexuality as sins. The statement was prompted in part by recent movements in several mainline denominations to reconsider the role of homosexuals in the church.

In other action, Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft was named the NAE 1991 Layperson of the Year. James Reapsome received the James DeForest Murch award for excellence in Christian journalism. Jerry Ballard, recently resigned as executive director of World Relief, was presented the 1991 J. Elwin Wright award for "faithfulness in advancing evangelical cooperation on both a national and international level.

By Joe Maxwell in St. Louis.

NOTED SPEAKER

Mormon Leader **Admits Tall Tales**

For years Elder Paul Dunn was one of the top 90 men in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, noted in the 7.3 million-member church as a dynamic speaker. But in mid-February Dunn was forced to admit he made up many of the personal stories that had gained him wide acclaim.

There was the one about a World War II buddy dying in his arms while begging Dunn to teach American youth about patriotism; the one about God protecting him as enemy machine-gun bullets ripped away his clothing, gear, and helmet without touching his skin; the one about playing baseball for the St. Louis Cardinals.

"Maybe he got me mixed up with another person," Dunn's war buddy, Harold Lester Brown, told the Arizona Republic, the paper that exposed Dunn's partly true-to-life stories.

Dunn, 66, who has a doctorate in education and is the author of 28 books and 23 inspirational cassettes, told the Republic his technique was to combine elements of several stories to make a single story that better conveyed a message and captured interest. "My mo-tives are pure and innocent," Dunn says. "I haven't purposely tried to rewrite history.

In fact, Dunn never played for the Cardinals, though he did spend part of one season on a Cardinals' farm team. And Dunn admits only the heel of a boot was shot off by machine-gun fire.

The truth came to light last fall after a Mormon free-lance writer, fired from his teaching position at Brigham Young University, provided the Republic information about Dunn. Mormon leaders in fall of 1989 had quietly placed Dunn on emeritus status "for health reasons" after investigating some of the stories. But until publication of the Republic's article, there was official silence regarding Dunn's actions. Mormon leadership still chooses words such as embellishments to describe Dunn's stories.

An article in a Mormon paper the day after the Republic's article was published said Dunn was "deeply sorrowed to read the article, which aims at a great institution and those officers who represent it.'

Mormon spokesman Don LeFevre told CHRISTIANITY TODAY that "the church does not condone misrepresentations, adding that Dunn's problems "won't affect the [Mormon] church at all. We are talking about an individual here."

RECENT RELEASES from Eerdmans

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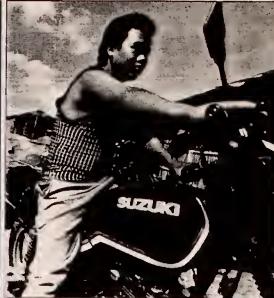
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THE SOUTH CHINA MIRACLE





A great leap forward

HONG KONG

Southern China has one of the world's boom economies. By 2000, its coastal provinces could be as rich as southern Europe—if politics lets the boom go on

WHEN the People's Liberation Army of Mao Zedong beat Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists in 1949, the losers fled to the island of Taiwan. As the communist grip on the mainland tightened over the next few years, hundreds of thousands more people fled south to the British colony of Hong Kong. In the following quarter-century of Maoist folly, while mainland China inched ahead, the Chinese of Taiwan and Hong Kong were staging two of the great post-1945 economic miracles.

In 1950 mainland China and Taiwan had much the same income per person, Hong Kong a little more. Today the average income in Taiwan is 30 times that of the mainland, in Hong Kong 35 times as much. Their citizens earn more than those of Spain and Ireland, and are moving up on Australia and New Zealand; mainland China is down with the Kenyas and the Pakistans.

Not all of mainland China, though. It is a different story in Taiwan's and Hong Kong's closest neighbours on the mainland, the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian.

The economic reforms that China's leader, Deng Xiaoping, introduced in 1979 had two main themes. The first, applied throughout rural China (where four-fifths of Chinese still live), was to restore the family

as the main unit of the farm economy, and to let many—later most—farm prices be set by the market. Rural incomes doubled in six years, creating two things still sorely lacking in the Soviet Union, a constituency for reform and a solid base for further growth.

The second vital part of Mr Deng's reforms, which too distinguished China from other would-be reformers like the Soviet Union and India, was the "open door": a cautious welcome for foreign firms and freeish trade, and for the outward-looking habits (and world-price disciplines) that they bring. Unlike the rural reforms, this

was applied selectively, so that China as a whole should not risk veering on to the "capitalist road". The provinces along China's coast were set free first. Fourteen cities were given the status of "coastal open cities", with extra freedoms and tax breaks for foreign trade and investment. Also created were five "special economic zones" (SEZS), with greater privileges still.

Much of China's coast has benefited: South Korean and Japanese firms have set up in Liaoning (ex-Manchuria) and Shandong, across the Yellow Sea from the Korean

peninsula. Most foreign countries are represented in Shanghai, China's old industrial giant. But southern China—the coastal arc stretching from Hainan island in the southwest through Guangdong province, adjacent to Hong Kong, and on to Fujian province, opposite Taiwan—was chosen as the main laboratory for the open-door experiment. All five sezs were located there.

Catching up fast

The result has been an explosive 12-year economic boom. In 1979—the year when part of it was named an SEZ—the town of Shenzhen, along Guangdong's border with Hong Kong, was inhabited by fewer than 100,000 people, and its economy depended mainly on farming and fishing. Shenzhen today has more than 2m inhabitants, glossy highrises, a limitless supply of prostitutes of both sexes, traffic jams, its very own (and duly shuttered) BCC1 branch—and, after a decade of hectic growth, a GDP per person close to \$2,000 a year. In a middling year these days, Shenzhen's industrial output,



trade and foreign investment all increase by 40%.

Those who think a tour de force can always be performed if only the stage is small enough should look at Guangdong province as a whole. With its 63m people, it is more populous than any European country but Germany. In 1980 Guangdong's "gross value of industrial and agricultural output" (an inferior Chinese version-it omits services-of GDP) was \$13.8 billion, in 1990 dollars. Ten years later it was \$44.2 billion-a real growth rate of 1212% a year. For comparison,

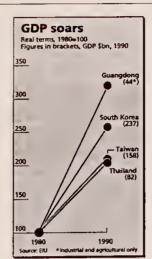
Thailand (population 55m) had annual real GDP growth of 7.5% over the same period.

Guangdong's industrial output—principally of goods like clothes, shoes and toys—rose 15% a year during the 1980s. So did exports, to the point where they accounted for a third of China's total exports in 1990. They are still soaring: in the first seven months of 1991, the province's industrial output and exports were over 25% higher by volume than in the same period last year.

In Guangzhou (ex-Canton), the rather graceful provincial capital, foreign goods circulate freely. Restaurants and nightspots are packed with customers until late in the evening—a rarity in the dour northern parts of the People's Republic. Hong Kong businessmen liken Guangzhou today to Hong Kong 20 years ago. They could go further: Guangzhou's yuppies not only dress just like Hong Kong's, they maddeningly carry the same portable telephones—10,000 of them, says one provincial official.

Next-door Fujian province, with 30m people (more than California, less than Spain), in the mid-1970s was one of China's poorest provinces. It now comes second only to Guangdong as a destination for foreign investment. Xiamen (formerly Amoy), the province's SEZ, has grown even faster. As recently as 1985, one westerner recalls, Xiamen was a dead city, with one westernowned factory and no street lights. Not now. Its industrial output has increased sevenfold since 1980. Exports last year were 21% higher than in 1989. Units in a high-rise office block still going up in the middle of town were sold so fast that the developer never had to draw down the loan he had arranged with a Hong Kong bank to finance it.

Even the backwaters along the southern Chinese arc have prospered. Hainan, a resource-rich tropical island best known for a huge car-importing scandal in the early 1980s, was named an SEZ in 1988. Its real industrial growth last year was 15%. In Shantou, a Guangdong SEZ, that figure was 14%; in Zhuhai, another Guangdong SEZ, near the Portuguese colony of Macau, 40%.



Through the open door

These spectacular developments occurred because Mr Deng's open-door policy let the world's economic winds blow through coastal southern China. In effect, wealthy Hong Kong and Taiwan have been economically integrated with their continental hinterlands.

More than pure economics was at work. Southern China is at the heart of an ethnic Chinese network that stretches across East and South-East Asia and has made the overseas Chinese a business force in the region

second only to the Japanese (and in many areas ahead of them). Guangdong's emigrants have gone not only to Hong Kong but to Thailand as well. The Fujianese diaspora has outposts in the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. Money, factories, managers and trade flow through the channels opened by language and blood.

These channels are broader and shorter between Hong Kong and Taiwan and the mainland. Four-fifths of Hong Kong's people are of Guangdong extraction. Most still have relations there. Fujian is a 20-minute flight (if any aircraft were allowed to make the trip) from Taiwan. A common language—the Fujianese dialect linking Taiwan to the mainland, Cantonese for Hong Kong and Guangdong—and a familiar culture make doing business easy.

Market forces have made it irresistible. Labour costs five times as much in Hong Kong as in Shenzhen, ten times as much as elsewhere in Guangdong. Land in Guangdong, on leases of 50-70 years much like those used in Hong Kong, costs only 2-3% of what it does in Hong Kong. The average fac-

tory wage in Fujian is 350 yuan (\$65) a month, about one-tenth the rate in Taiwan; a square metre of land in Xiamen can be had for 2 yuan (35 American cents) a year on a 70-year lease.

Is this because productivity is correspondingly low? No. Hong Kong and Taiwanese businessmen say that workers in southern China produce nearly as much as the ones back home. Workers can be hired through newspaper advertisements, or through recruiting drives in poorer provinces. And they can be fired at will.

Nor is bureaucracy much of an obstacle, at least in Guangdong; businessmen in Fujian complain more. Jack Lau, the head of Tomei, a Hong Kong electronics company that employs 200 people in the colony and 16,000 in Guangdong,

says that only three months after he decided to open a 2,000-worker factory in Guangdong the factory was up and running.

Though some companies from far afield—Peugeot, Procter & Gamble, a smattering of Japanese—have gone in, the rush to invest has been led overwhelmingly by ethnic Chinese. In Fujian, of nearly 4,000 foreign projects, worth \$3.5 billion, approved by the end of 1990, Taiwan accounted for a third, Hong Kong for 30%. Of the 15,000 projects, worth \$20 billion, approved in Guangdong up to the end of June this year, 80% came from Hong Kong, with Taiwanese firms second. Hong Kong companies now employ 2m factory workers in Guangdong, only 700,000 in Hong Kong itself.

The effects on Guangdong and Fujian have been huge. Exports—mostly funnelled through Hong Kong—account for almost two-thirds of Guangdong's total output. The output of its foreign-owned firms rose by nearly half in 1990. In consequence, the state sector's share of output in the province is a mere 30% and sliding. Communism is dead in southern China.

Will politics mess it all up?

This sounds cheering, but it could be dangerous: an increasingly besieged Communist regime in Beijing will not countenance any political challenge from China's periphery. The question is whether that risk will be allowed to slow economic integration and growth. That does not depend solely on decisions made in Beijing.

There is no economic reason for a slow-down. Next year sees the opening of the first phase of a six-lane "superhighway" in Guangdong, running from the Shenzhen sez up through the booming industrial towns of the Pearl river delta to Guangzhou and then down to the Zhuhai sez and Macau. It is being built by a Hong Kong company, Hopewell Holdings, run by Gordon



Working for the world market



PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

IN CHINA

PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

Protestant Christianity was introduced into China from the West in the nineteenth century. The good news of Jesus Christ had been brought to China several times previously, beginning with the arrival of Nestorian missionaries from Persia in A.D. 635, during the Tang Dynasty. That church survived for more than 200 years and then largely disappeared leaving a stone tablet about itself, unearthed in Xian in 1625. Successive missionary efforts also did not last long due to their failure to root Christianity in Chinese society and culture.



Choral singing

The Three-Self Movement, begun in 1950 by Protestant church leaders, seeks to make the church truly indigenous and Chinese through self-administration, self-support and self-propagation of the gospel.

In China today, our churches are postdenominational. Mutual respect in matters of faith and worship keeps diversity in unity. Unfortunately, from 1966-1976, the "Cultural Revolution" interrupted our church life. Churches were closed down and ministers assigned to secular jobs. As Christians passed through that valley of the shadow of death, we gathered in homes as the Christians in the first century did. Since then, lay leadership has played a more important role in Chinese church life.



An Easter party in Song County, Henan Province

Since 1979, churches have been on the increase and are experiencing a revival. In 1980, the China Christian Council was formed in addition to the National Three-Self Movement Committee, as the organizational expression of the new emphasis on governing ourselves well, supporting



Lord's Supper

ourselves well and doing the work of Christian propagation ourselves well. The leading bodies of the two national organizations are elected at the National Christian Conference attended by representatives from provincial Christian organizations. The National Christian Conference, the supreme authority for the two organizations, is held once every five years.

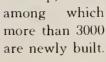


A CCC and Three-self Mission Group Evangelistic Trip

The Three-Self Movement has paved the way for and given fresh impetus to more vigorous evangelistic efforts. In recent years there has been a conspicuous growth in con-

church membership.
According to the estimates we can make at the end of 1989, there are over 7000 churches that are open for public worship, among which

gregations and





Ordination in a church in Suzhon Choral singing

We also have tens of thousands of groups of Protestant Christians meeting in homes. There were 200,000 new converts in 1989, bringing the total number of Protestant Christians to 5.5 to 6 million.



Holy Baptism

Aside from direct evangelistic activities, the Biblical teaching of "taking thought for what is noble in the sight of all" has encouraged Christians to participate in various fields of nation building, witness bearing to Christ and presenting Christian values to our society. Sharing of the gospel through personal contacts has proved to be an effective way of evangelism.

We have at present over 700 seminarians preparing themselves for the ministry and receiving full time training in 13 theological schools.



Students of Nanjing Theological Seminary



A short-term training class in devotion

Approximately 5.5 million copies of the complete Bible and the New Testament were printed and distributed during the past ten years. A total of 2.5 million copies



Dr. Billy Graham at the Amity Printing Press



Bible purchases among Christians from Chinese minorities

of our new hymnal of 400 hymns, 100 of which of Chinese origin, has also been published, for use all over the country.

International contacts and exchanges with church groups and individuals abroad help Chinese Christians to appreciate the universality of our faith alongside our own particularities. In February, 1991, the China Christian Council became a full member of the World Council of Churches.



China Christian Council became a full member of the World Council of Churches in Canberra



Archbishop Tutu's China visit

In the midst of this new period of openness toward religious belief and remarkable growth, the church is struggling with new challenges, for instance:

How to bridge the big age-gap in leadership caused by the inability to carry on adequate theological training for years;

How to strengthen pastoral care and offer a ministry that can cope with the influx of new converts, especially in rural areas where leadership is inadequate;

How to help those in society and in the church see that Christianity can make a positive contribution to social development, so that they can implement the policy of religious freedom to the full.

These are a few subjects for your prayers.

China Christian Council
National Three-Self Movement Committee

Headquarters 169 Yuan Ming Yuan Road 3rd Floor Shanghai, China 200002 Tel: (86)(21) 3213396

Nanjing Office 17 Da JianYin Xiang Nanjing, China 210029 Tel: (86)(25) 410835 Cable: 4377 Nanjing Telex: 342222 AFNJ CN Fax: (86)(25) 741053

M-228 Jeff and Megan Ritchie 146 Fenley Ave. Louisville, KY 40206 January, 1991

China Reflections, November 7-17, 1990

Our mini-bus departed from Nanjing headed across the Yangtze River for Jiangpu County where we were to visit one of the thirteen "meeting points" (churches that are not fully organized with an ordained pastor) in that county. After about an hour-and-a-half ride, we saw the newly-built church rising out of the plain. Over 350 members of the Yang Village Meeting Point arrived by tractors, bicycle, and on foot to welcome us to their brand-new sanctuary which was big enough to accommodate 1,000 persons.

"I could not believe it when I heard that you built this church in thirty days," began Bruce Gannaway, Associate Director for Partnership in the Global Mission Ministry Unit of the PC(USA), as he brought the believers greetings in the name of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). They burst out laughing when he continued, "Now that I have seen your church, I still cannot believe it!" Gannaway was referring to the solid brick structure ornamented on the front with beautiful stonework and tile mosaics.

This church, or meeting point, like so many others in rural China, had begun as a small home gathering. It had to move five times as the membership grew. Finally, the members decided to build a sanctuary big enough to accommodate their numbers. Now the services are packed every Sunday, with many people sitting outside. Some believers bring their own stools to make sure that they have a seat. Those who come from distant villages bring their own rice to be put into a huge common "wok" in the church kitchen and become part of a common meal following the service.

Why has the church grown so rapidly in rural China, especially in the eastern coastal areas like Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian Provinces? We noticed right away the natural manner in which Chinese Christians witnessed to their faith in Jesus. For example, we were touring the "Altar of Heaven" in Beijing when Jean Woo, our tour's interpreter and the Director of the China Program of the Presbyterian Church, heard a Chinese woman sharing the gospel with a man. Jean entered the conversation at that point and told the woman that our group was a Christian group, to which the woman replied, "Thank God." This conversation illustrated the statement of Bishop K.H. Ting of the China Christian Council: "When Christ means everything to believers, they cannot but tell others of him, and that is evangelism" (from "What We Can Learn About Evangelism from Chinese Christians," in the 1991 Mission Yearbook for Prayer and Study of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)).

In addition to this internal motivation to witness the Rev. Peter Tsai, a pastor in Hangzhou and one of the leaders of the national China Christian Council noted a number of external factors. Where the church is growing in his part of rural China, Tsai said, there are usually good relations between local Communist party officials (cadres) in charge of implementing religious policies and Christians. In Zhejiang Province, Christians are known to be good citizens. That is, they are honest, they don't gamble, and they don't commit crimes. Therefore, government officials often help Christians build their churches or get formerly confiscated land back in order to build churches.

Secondly, there has been a decline in Daoist and Buddhist activity in rural China. For example, in Zhejiang there are less than 200 functioning Buddhist temples and much fewer Daoist temples (compared with 4,000 places of Protestant worship). When farmers are sick or in need, those who would have formerly turned to Buddhism or Daoism are often helped by Christians who go all out to

serve: praying with them, bringing food, giving support and comfort, and doing personal evangelism as well. It is genuine love and concern that have caused many to turn to Christ and to the church. In addition, there have also been cases where physical healing has led to conversion.

If this brief segment from our General Assembly Staff trip to China has whetted your appetite for more information on developments in the church in China, <u>China News Update</u> is a Presbyterian publication you may like to get along with <u>Bridge: Church Life in China Today</u> which is an ecumenical journal published in Hong Kong.

In our next Missionary Correspondence Letter, we will update you on our family and on the new global evangelism resolution, "Turn to the Living God: A Call to Evangelism in Jesus Christ's Way."

In Christ, Jeff Ritchie

Jeff, for the Ritchies



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News from China

The Fifth National Chinese Christian Conference [NCC] closed in Beijing on January 6, 1992. Delegates called for renewed emphasis on younger leadership, church order, and commitment to the Three-Self principle of a national church which is self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. In the largest and most broadly based Protestant gathering since the beginning of the reform period in 1979, two hundred seventy-three delegates from twenty-nine provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities gathered in Beijing for the week-long meeting which had as its general theme "Running the Church Well."

Over the last five years, the number of Protestant churches in China has risen from 4,000 to more than 7,000. More than 20,000 meeting points have also been established. Bible production has

jumped from 2 million in 1986 to 6.5 million today.

Bishop K. H. Ting was reelected head of the two national Christian organizations, the National Committee of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China [TSPM] and the

China Christian Council [CCC].

The conference approved a "Church Order For Trial Use in Chinese Churches," in which local churches are encouraged to respect different expressions and traditions of faith and are told "neither to struggle against each other nor to force unity." In the chapter on sacraments, only basic rules are laid down, allowing for great local differences. The office of bishop is not endowed with any special administrative authority, but bishops "will shoulder larger pastoral responsibility."

Great emphasis was put on the participation of younger delegates to the meeting. Forty-two recent seminary graduates were ordained at the meeting in an unprecedented worship service designed to promote young people in leadership positions throughout the church. Women's concerns also received attention

at the conference.

Small groups focused on such topics as theological construction, leadership training, church administration, the rural church, self support, and overseas exchanges. A theological book stall sold 14,000 volumes during the week-long conference.

The NCC meets every five or six years. Earlier NCCs were held in 1954, 1961, 1980, and 1986.—Amity News Service, 4 Jordan

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(Continued from Page 30)

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PULPIT EXCHANGE

I am a minster of the Church of Scotland, Parish minister of Denny Westpark Church which is situated between Falkirk and Stirling, some forty minutes from Edinburgh, and half an hour from Glasgow. We have a seven room manse with two bathrooms and a kitchen and garage. I drive a Volvo 345 DL which would be included in the exchange. I am 31 years old, married, and with two children. I have been in the ministry for over six years and although I have visited the USA before, this is the first exchange that I have tried to arrange. We would be looking to exchange a pulpit, home, and car during the months of July and August 1993 (near

(Continued on Page 34)

Yanji Journal

In China, the Koreans Shine ('It's Our Custom)

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

YANJI, China - A glint of enthusiastic agreement filled Shen Shengzhu's eyes when a visitor suggested that Koreans in China, unlike many ethnic minorities here, seem to have plenty of self-confidence.

"That's right," said Mr. Shen, a businessman in this Korean nook in the northeast of China. "I'm a Korean, and I figure that the Koreans are rather smart and industrious. We're also quite capable and very hygienic. And very polite."

Mr. Shen beamed and added, "It's

our custom.'

China's 1.9 milllon Korean inhabitants, most of whom immigrated decades ago from North Korea, are concentrated in this hilly region just inside China from North Korea, and signs of Korean pride are every-

Korean-language magazines and newspapers abound, and some private restaurants, especially the kind that serve Korean specialties llke dog soup, have signs on the door written in Korean only. And as nearly all Koreans here delight in telling visi-tors, China's ethnic Koreans have a much higher university attendance rate than any other group in the country, higher even than the Han people who make up 92 percent of all Chi-

Behind the Self-Confidence

All in all, Koreans are probably the most successful ethnic minority in China, which may help explain the self-confidence.

Most of China's 55 ethnic minorities are on average poorer and less educated than the Han, and some like Tibetans and various Muslim ethnic groups of Turkish origin - have tense relations with the Han and complain that the Han look down on them. But China's Koreans sometimes jokingly acknowledge that they feel at least as superior to the Han as the Han feel to them.

Perhaps because the condescension is cheerfully mutual, most Koreans here say they get along well with their Han neighbors.

"The problem around here isn't the Han," a Korean entrepreneur in his early 20's said as he relaxed with friends over a beer. "The problem is that if you're young in China, life is pretty boring.

Koreans have eisen to positions of real national power in China, not just post: as political ornaments to which members of immorities are normally relegated. One of the most powerful military figures in China, for example, is a Korean named Cho Nam Qi, the director of the General Logistics Department of the army.

China's premier rock-'n'-roll star, Cui Jian, is also an ethnic Korean. Still some Han continue to regard



Koreans, who are probably the most successful ethnic minority in China, are faithful to their traditions. In Yanji, near the North Korean border, a

Korean couple, the bride in traditional Korean dr arrived for their wedding. In China, only about Korean in a thousand marries a non-Korean.

Yanbian Prefecture JILIN RUSSIA Changchun Yanjl MT. PAEKTU > CHINA KOREA

The New York Times

Many of China's Korean inhabitants live in Yanbian Prefecture.

Koreans as poor and backward. This view is based not on the performance of China's own Koreans, who make up less than one-half of 1 percent of China's population, but on perceptions of in poverished North Korea.

These days, however Chinese are increasingly encountering another kind of Korean: the well-dressed, relatively prosperous South Koreans. While China has not yet agreed to diplomatic relations with Seoul, for fear of offending its longtime allies in the north, trade and other exchanges are growing rapidly with South Ko-

rea. Already there seems to be considerable admiration throughout China for South Korea, as well as relief among Chinese Koreans that finally they have some overseas Koreans that they can be proud of.

"Now everybody wants to go to South Korea," said Jin Tongguo, the director of minority affairs here in Yanbian Autonomous Korean Prefec-

Few Curbs on Koreans

While it is still difficult for Chinese to visit South Korea, there are few restrictions on South Koreans visiting China. Last year about 10,000 South Koreans visited Jilin Province alone,

and this year 20,000 are expected.
"We don't worry too much about differences in ideology," Jin Tao, the director of minority affairs in the province, said in an interview in the provincial Changchun. capital, "We're trying to build the relation-ship and economic exchanges, and so naturally more and more South Koreans are coming."

South Korean books and music are not yet allowed to be sold in China, but visitors bring them in and leave them behind. Already, South Korean love songs are heard everywhere in Yanbian prefecture, the tapes apparently copied and exchanged among friends.

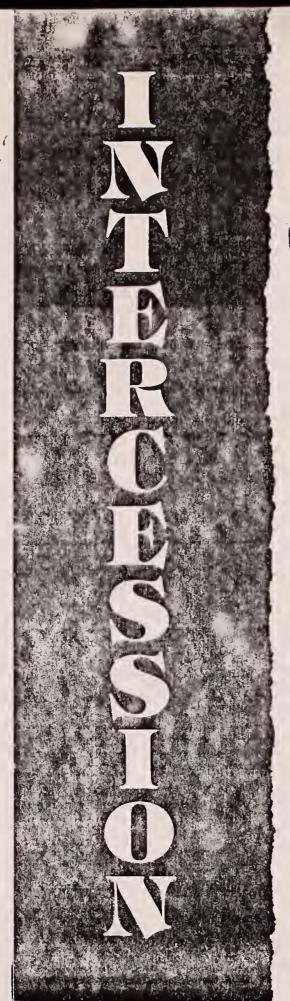
Most of the South Korean tourists come to Yanbian because it includes part of Mount Paektu, the legendary birthplace of the Korean people. The other part of the mountain is in North Korea and therefore inaccessib South Koreans.

Some of China's Koreans have tives in South Korea, but most, pa ularly here in Yanbian prefec come from nearby areas of 1 Korea. They migrated here prim in the early years of this century perhaps one reason why relation tween the Han and the Koreans amicable here is that everyone newcomer.

China's emperors banned pe from living in the area, keeping region as a private hunting gro Only in 1860 did they open up region to immigration, and sim neously one wave came from N Korea and another from va parts of China.

Most of the Chinese who came landless peasants and beggars the bottom rung of society, while Koreans who came were some more prosperous and establi their own schools beginning in 19 result was that there was a net of Korean-language schools in area long before there were any nese schools around, and that tion apparently helps explain Chinese Koreans have been so cessful.

Today the educational sys: still divided, with separate Kon language schools and Chinese guage schools. The schools are lar, but as some local Koreans plain — in a burst of self-confid backed by statistics - the Chi schools have lower academic st



A LCWE official estimates that by the year 2000, there could be 50 million new Christian converts in Latin America, 40 million in India, 30 million in China, 20 million in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 11 million in non-Muslim Africa, as well as little growth or even a decline in the churches of the Middle East. However, Christians are only increasing their portion of the world's population by 0.1 per cent annually. Pray that more Christians in the world can be awakened to their task of fulfilling the Great Commission.

The Jewish Christian community in Israel has grown from 3,000 to 4,000 since 1985. A Jewish pastor has attributed the growth to the following three reasons: a new confidence among the Christians leading to outreach; the immigration of Hebrew Christians, especially from Rur ia; and conversions among Russian immigrants. The Russian newcomers have brought new spiritual vitality to Jewish churches as well as some faulty views of the Christian faith. Pray that more Jews will know that Jesus Christ is God through the witness and testimony of others.

Shujiang County, north of Wenzhou in Zhejiang has 20,000 believers meeting in 17 registered churches. The largest one has seven storeys and was completed in early 1991. Pray for Zhejiang's more than one million Christians.

In 1950 there were only 3,000 believers in **Xiapu** County in Fujian Province. Today there are 20,000 meeting in 120 (registered) churches and meeting points. Last summer 100 Christians attended a summer training camp to learn practical ministry. Pray for this church.

The All Believers Ministry in Ghana plans to reach each of the ten existing regions of the nation by AD 2000. They hope that people can understand the Gospel in their mother tongue, receive deliverance and become locally identifiable and viable disciples. They wish to reach at least 50,000 people in their targeted region by 2000 and adopt one people/tribal group every other year beginning 1991: Ahanta, Konkomba, Anglo, Dagomba and Adangbe. Pray for the successful accomplishment of their goals.

Of the 3.5 million overseas **Hakka**, two million reside in Taiwan. They have the lowest percentage of Christians of any people group in Taiwan, and have thus come to be called the "resistant people". The World Hakka Gospel Association has been formed to reach this unreached people group some years ago. They have so far established 1B new cell groups of believers, all led by Hakka people. Continue to pray for their ministry.

According to a mainland Chinese newspaper, the number of government-controlled **Three-Self churches** has increased from 4,000 to 7,000 in the past five years. Overseas religious sources estimate that the total number of Christians (both Three-Self and house church members) has jumped from 20 million to 60 million. However, the percentage of Christians as compared to the 1.13 billion only amounts to five per cent.

Pray for the 120,000 Daur people in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Heilongjiang Province. The majority of the Oaurs believe in Shamanism with a small number believing in Lamaism. They offer sacrifices to different gods during the Lunar New Year and in May.

want them in the first place. Then, to top off the cruelty, shelling them when they had no place to go and doing this while they were living with no food or water in a land that has winter temperatures of zero degrees. How can we continue to support Israel under such circumstances?

These acts do a terrible injustice to those of us in the religious community who share the Judeo-Christian heritage; as brothers and sisters in the faith how could we permit it to happen to anyone? The irony is that Arabs too are sons of Abraham. There is no quality of mercy or human understanding in this behavior. It is a monstrous act of inhumanity. Jews and Christians across the world must arise in protest that this cruelty should be perpetrated by the victums of the holocaust. How soon those same victims forgot.

American Jews who support Israel must raise voices in protest and, along with Christian brothers and sisters, bring pressure on the Israeli government to right this wrong and free the Arab victims from such terrible suffering.—Robert M. Armstrong, Pastor, United Evangelical Church, Baltimore, Md.

Model Behavior and Beautiful Witness

A Report from China via the Amity News Service

Philip L. Wickeri, PCUSA fraternal worker, Editor

The Hong Kong office of Amity News Service, an information outlet sponsored by the Amity Foundation to report news of the China Christian Council, recently received a handwritten report on the establishment of a new church in Henghu, Jiangxi Province. The new church building is not far from Jiangxi's Poyang Lake, near the provincial capital of Nanchang. The story in that handwritten note is here summarized from a translation by the Amity News Service staff:

Up until the time of the Cultural Revolution (1966-I976), there had never been Christians in this peasant community of more than 20,000 people. Then a Christian couple from Hunan Province, Brother He Fengming and Sister Zhu Fengqi, were sent down to the Henghu countryside, and here they began to hold home worship gatherings in secret with their neighbors.

With the restoration of the policy of religious freedom in the late 1970s, the number of Christians began to increase. Yet the

100

Henghu home worship gathering was still not recognized because of the "Leftist" orientation of local party authorities ["cadres"]. The cadres put all sorts of pressure on local Christians, and frequently called in Brother He for a "talk." They told him to change his ways and discontinue the worship meetings, suggesting that his

job might be in jeopardy if he did not comply.

But Brother He and the local church held fast to their beliefs and the number of Christians in Henghu continued to increase. They witnessed to the community through their deeds, and people began to take notice. Christian families were more enthusiastic in turning in their grain levies, they didn't cheat, they were helpful to others, and their family relations were harmonious. Sister Zhu and other Christians often helped the weakest members of their community.

This model behavior and beautiful witness eventually moved the local cadres, causing them to change their impression of the church. The cadres again studied the government's religious policy, and now made a special effort to abide by its spirit and uphold religious freedom. At one point, a local cadre even moved out of his house so that Christians would have a place to meet.

When Henghu Christians applied to build their own church—a new church in a community which had never had one—they were immediately granted land by the local government. The Christians pooled their resources and prayed that they would have enough funds to build the church. Young and old, rich and poor,

they all gave what they could.

Later, Henghu church leaders contacted the China Christian Council, for they still lacked resources. The Wonju Youngkang Church of South Korea learned of the story of the Christians of Henghu, and were so moved that the decision was made to give ten thousand U.S. dollars as a freewill offering to complete the building of the new church.

The church building, which seats 300 people, was finally completed in mid-October, 1992. But the Christian community in Henghu now numbers more than a thousand; therefore, many

Christians continue to meet in their homes.

Christians and local officials came from near and far to take part in the opening celebration last October. A church leader told those who had assembled: "In everything we have done, we have had faith in God, and we have relied on this faith to the full. The local has purposed the way, the local has last has local had have 14 more for me in a hundras."

FEBRUARY 22, 1993

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CHINA PROTESTANTS NOW TOTAL 63 MILLION

Two years ago, the State Statistical Bureau (SSB) in China decided to conduct a survey on the number of people in China who are religious believers. The project was completed

in June of this year.

According to this survey, about 200 million people in China profess religious faith. Among these people, the largest number—some 100 million—claim to be Buddhists. The Protestant church is reported to have 63 million adherents, while the Catholic Church has 12 million. However, further details are not available, such as the definition of Protestant and Catholic Christian used by the survey, the Christian population of each province, or the gender portion and average educational level of the Christian community.

If the above-mentioned number of Protestants is correct, it is by far the highest official estimate known to date. The previous highest estimate was tabulated in 1990 by the State Council at over ten million. The official figure of five million Protestants announced by the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and the China Christian Council (CCC) in the beginning of this year includes only those churches under their supervision, and represents less than one-tenth of the SSB number reported above. Bishop Ding of the TSPM acknowledges that the TSPM and CCC only have contact with a portion of China's Christian population. In other words, many Christians in the mainland have no contact with or ties to the official church.

In the past, the Chinese Church Research Center in Hong Kong estimated China to have around 50 million Protestants. Many overseas Christians disagreed with this figure. The TSPM and CCC even launched a serious attack on the Center, charging that its estimate was vastly over-inflated. This figure was only an estimate, of course, since it was not possible to conduct a formal survey of religious believers in the mainland. Without such corroboration, however, it was simply not possible

to convince some people that such a figure could conceivably be legitimate. Now, those concerned with understanding the Chinese church will find new information in the estimate of its size given by the TSPM and CCC. — China News and Church Report.

CHRISTIAN REFORMED MISSION HISTORY

Can You Help?

We are searching for old letters, personal accounts, interviews, photos, and other materials relating to CRC mission history. Collections will be indexed and preserved at Heritage Hall, Calvin College. Confidentiality will be respected.

If you have such materials and are willing to donate them to the archives, or allow them to be copied, please contact Dr. Roger S. Greenway or Dr. Herbert Brinks,

Calvin College/Seminary

3233 Burton Street,

Grand Rapids, Michigan 49546

SING US A SONG

(Continued from page 3)

An evangelist working in an illiterate lowcaste area of India sings Bible stories to the people, using Indian tunes. These Scripture songs are being distributed by cassette recordings as well. Music helps our remembering and increases our joy at what we hear.

I'm thankful that God has given us a faith rich in songs and singing, by which we praise him, remember who he is and what he has done, and help others hear about him.

Sing us a song, said the people of Babylon to the exiled Jews. Let's not lose our singing to the Lord and about him. It is a treasure God has given us from creation through history to the perfect songs of heaven.

30/MISSIONARY MONTHLY

Manfinoll Coy. Oct. 29/30, 1993

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From Around the World

REPORT ON MANCHURIA AND TIBET

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Our Lord:

The end of 1993 is approaching. We can describe the overall situation for China's church during the past year in one word: "Wonderful!" The ongoing fire of revival still burns nationwide.

The objective facts about the church in China convince everyone that Jesus Christ is Head of China's church—He is Lord. Jesus Christ "lords it" over the church. Satan, working through human enemies of the church, has tried his worst to diminish the growth of the church in China. As usual, he never succeeds.

Surprising Growth in Manchuria

One of the most surprising instances of growth in 1993 is the Hei church in Manchuria. Four years ago, some Christians left the local government-recognized Three Self Patriotic Movement church. In the summer of 1989, ten of these Christians formed a congregation to meet regularly each week for worship. I heard

about this new group but paid no further attention to it, primarily because I was concerned for the potential development of a church among scattered believers in northern Manchuria.

In that part of Manchuria, as I wrote in my letter dated March 1992, the growth of the church was remarkable. Seven years ago, for example, we knew of only *two* Christians in UY county. However, at the beginning of 1992 the number has grown to at least 3,000 believers scattered among about one hundred meeting points.

UY county, Manchuria, lies near the border with Russia. In the LB area, a scant ten kilometers from the border, no Christians could be found a few years ago. Now each village apparently has believers and local meeting points.

In areas such as northern Manchuria, the most urgent need of the church is for training of evangelists and other Christians. That is why I tried to organize training seminars among the emerging churches of northern Manchuria.

During that time, I remained somewhat oblivious to the amazing church growth that



Brother George (5th from left, back row) and group of new believers on Hainan Island after baptisms in the sea



Brother George preaching to a large congregation in rural China

was taking place in the area of the Hei church. I now am informed by coworkers that the ten believers who formed the first congregation in 1989 have expanded to more than 10,000 believers!

This marvelous news from the Hei church forces us to focus on how we can help respond to the enormous needs of the Christians there. They need lay worker training seminars, Bibles, Bible reference books, and other helps.

One of my coworkers in particular has been urging me to place the needs of the Hei church at the top of my priority list—ahead of all other areas in mainland China. When I asked him why he had not informed me earlier about the miraculous growth of the Hei church, he replied that he assumed that the news certainly had been reaching me. He added that for this reason "we awaited your coming to us, day by day, for at least four years!" That is true. Obviously, I was not able to divide myself into several pieces in order to be present in several different places at the same time.

Yet, even though I forgot the needs of the



believers in Hei County, our gracious and sovereign Lord was among them. I did nothing to help them, nor did other pastors come to serve them. Meanwhile, it is the Lord Who has done great things for His chosen people — and the number of believers now exceeds 10,000.

Changing Ethnic Constituency in Manchuria

Hei County is only one part of Manchuria, but the church is flourishing throughout that country. Lying along the northeast border of China, Manchuria once was the cradle of the Manchu people—one of China's numerous ethnic minorities. Although the territory of Manchuria is relatively large, its population is comparatively sparse.

During the early years of the 20th century, Han people from northeastern China who suffered poverty and natural calamities wandered as emigrants to Manchuria. Even before the Communists gained power in China after World War II, Han Chinese people by 1950 already were the majority ethnic group in Manchuria.

The most recent major tide of migration from northeastern China to Manchuria took place in 1959-61, the so-called "three-year natural calamity." Chairman Mao and his party foolishly and stubbornly launched programs called the "Three Red Banners" (the "General Line," the "Great Leap Forward," and the push to organize the "People's

Communes"). These unrealistic and disastrous experiments disrupted production as well as the lives of families and communities. Already in 1959-60 the nation of China was hit by the "extraordinarily serious famine." Within one year, officials had to admit that as many as 20 million people "abnormally died" (i.e., starved to death)!

Consequently, millions of Chinesc people began to leave their home towns to seek a living elsewhere. In desperation, Chairman Mao (together with the Central Party and the State Council) issued a document on March 31, 1959, banning the movement of "fugitives" (the Communist name for hungry migrants fleeing from one section of China to another) and ordering their repatriation. However, migrants who went to three areas—Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang—were exempt from the repatriation edict. Accordingly, people from the densely populated southeastern section of China as well as from other places headed for Manchuria.

That is why today one sees only Han Chinese people in Manchuria. The Manchu people have been assimilated almost totally by the Han majority.

The migration of Han Chinese people to Manchuria in the period following 1959 stimulated the growth of Christ's church. In the days when migrants were struggling to eke out a living for themselves and their families, the seed of the Gospel also was being sown by pioneer believers. When I went to Manchuria in 1980, after being released from my 18-year imprisonment, in order to look for a pastor Liu, it was hard to find a Christian or church in Manchuria. Now Christians and meeting points can be found everywhere in that land!

The fruit of the spiritual harvest in Manchuria cannot be attributed to the success of any specific mission or individual minister: it is the work of Jesus Christ. Sometimes it is pointed out that since Pentecost we are living in the age of the Holy Spirit. How true! The rapid growth of the church in Manchuria is a marvel wrought by the Spirit of the Living God.

From man's side arise only problems. For example, the leaders of the church in Manchuria urged me many times to come in order to hold training sessions for lay workers. This has been impossible because I already have scheduled commitments through June of 1994. In other words, I have contributed nothing to the growth of Manchuria's church: what has occurred there is by the power of the Holy Spirit. Please remember the Christians of Manchuria in your prayers.

You see that the same urgent need exists in all these areas – the Hei church region as well



Christians praising God during service dedicating a rebuilt church building



Ethnic minority Christians singing a farewell hymn as Brother George leaves for another village

as Manchuria and the entirety of China. Evangelists and pastors must be trained how to preach the Gospel and to shepherd the flock, while they seek to follow up the rapidly increasing number of believers.

Literature and Theological Education

During 1993, we expanded our plans for printing Bible study and reference books. Since the number of theological tutors is too small to meet the demands of training evangelists, we also are working to increase the supply of printed materials. Along with the books which we try to make available, we also give instructions in practical terms about how the books may be used most effectively where no teachers are present.

The current demand for such biblical study material far outstrips the supply coming across the border from outside China. That is why we are trying to pour increasing amounts of money into printing such materials inside China. We need to expand this project in 1994. Pray that our Lord will enable us more adequately to meet the enormous need for such materials.

In the past year, it seemed that Christian periodicals in many parts of the globe reported that Yunnan Theological Seminary had been

closed. I was very sorry about this, because the closing meant that the one seminary for training Chinese ethnic minority students no longer was available to them. Now I am happy to report that Yunnan seminary reopened in September 1993. Pastor "G" still is the rector. When I learned this, I rejoiced with tears and thanked God for His mercy.

One of the greatest problems confronting Chinese seminary students today is the spiraling cost of room and board. Ethnic minority students come from rural and mountain areas where poverty is common. China is experiencing unprecedented inflation, and it is very difficult for ethnic minority students with meager family resources to find lodging and meals within their means in the provincial capital where they want to attend seminary. Nevertheless, Yunnan Theological Seminary is a blessing to those whose families and churches help them to meet the costs of preparing for the Gospel ministry in this institution. Pray for God to provide for a growing number of theological students.

What about Tibet?

As we conclude this survey of ministry in China during the past year, I sigh with regret about what has been taking place in China's "Great West"—in Tibet and Sichuan province. In my March 1993 newsletter, I reported what happened to Brother "L," who was responsible for ministry in Tibet and Sichuan. His house was ransacked by police on December 17, 1992, and he was watched for months. He is free to minister again but faces many difficulties and obstacles.

In Lhasa, Tibet, a widespread uprising took place last May. Consequently, the authorities strictly tightened up their vigilance. Policemen carrying arms or appearing in plain clothes patrol the street, and all strangers are stopped for checking. Under such circumstances, the opportunity for Christians to witness or to gather for worship is severely curtailed.

It appears that unfavorable events came in "twos" this year in China's Great West. After the insurrection in Tibet half a year ago, the central west Sichuan province was the scene of a peasants' revolt. Thousands of people demonstrated to protest the imposition of exorbitant taxes and constantly rising prices.

As a result, the area has been placed under strict police and military control. The road leading to "MK," our meeting place in eastern Tibet, and to recently restored meeting points in western Sichuan is patrolled heavily by security guards. Our fellow evangelists hardly can get through the check points, and I do not think that these coworkers should run the risk now of trying to move back and forth through these guard posts.

While the unsettled conditions in the Great West are rooted in an old social system which perpetuates discrimination and injustice, these circumstances also obstruct the progress of the Gospel.

Our Tibetan co-workers, brother and sister Wang, try to serve members of two small groups in "MK," eastern Tibet. It is not wise for us to attempt to visit them at present. But we trust that our Lord will lead them all their way.

Here in Hong Kong, I am about to begin my "Winter Festival" itinerary (leading to Christmas, New Year, and the lunar New Year). I pray that our Lord will crown your new year of 1994 with all His goodness. Please pray also for all Christians in China. I beseech you as well to intercede for the church and people in the Great West of China, especially for the believers in Sichuan province and in

Tibct. Ask the Lord in His mercy to open the gate soon for a resumption of ministry in that region.

Together in His Great Commission, Brother George

WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATOR REPORT FROM THAILAND

Dear Friends:

"How did the people in the village like the picture books you took back?", we asked our friends from the Bru village of Khok Sa-at on their second visit. "Could they read them?"

We smiled as one of the two men described the enthusiastic reception of the villagers on their return home from a two-week visit to our place in Nakhon Phanom, where they had attempted for the first time to work out a Thai script writing system for their language. The picture books in Bru, Thai, and English were one of the things they helped produce. They also wrote the history of their village and some personal experiences. It was hard work because their language had so many patterns and sounds not found in Thai.

But the hard work had been worth it. The school teacher in the village (not Bru himself) had been impressed and wanted to make more copies. Other villages in the area had expressed interest. Our friend's daughter who is in her first year of secondary school in another village had taken some of the material to school with her. To the interested crowd that gathered round to see it, she had said proudly, "We have a written language now!"

For us it seemed that the months of travel from village to village collecting lists of words, asking questions, recording speech samples, transcribing and comparing were paying off. It was gratifying to see these small groups of people begin to realize that neither they nor their language were inferior, and that in their language they had a valuable resource which was worth preserving.

There are still two more Bru-related language groups from which we want to collect basic data and try to analyze sound systems



From Around the World

MINISTERING TO ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CHINA

Dear Brothers and Sisters in our Lord:

Midnight on June 30 was the exact time of Hong Kong's return to China. Some of my friends from foreign countries came to Hong Kong before the end of June. The historic moment which had been talked about for years finally was coming, and they wanted to be involved personally.

Events which are destined to occur take place sooner or later. Our Lord said, "I am coming soon!" That vital day assuredly will be fulfilled—no one can delay or prevent its coming. The only thing for us to be concerned about is

whether we are ready to face the Lord Jesus in peace. His coming will affect every one of us as well as humanity as a whole. The day of Christ's return will come as surely as the day of the "political power shift" in Hong Kong came on June 30. When Christ comes, He will bring everything to light. Let us increase our vigilance, our use of time, and our stewardship.

Half of 1997 already has passed, and many ministry plans and projects are not yet completed. In March I checked on Bible distribution. I have been amazed to see how eager people are in remote mountain areas to buy a Bible. Even though the price of a Bible is not high, to buy one copy a person may have to work six months raising chickens and selling eggs in the market.

Ethnic minority people often receive Bibles without charge because their languages are other



New church building being dedicated in Jiaoxi Yi people's area



New church crowded with worshipers, all sitting on the ground because the building has neither benches or chairs as yet.

than Chinese Mandarin or Cantonese. I was surprised to receive a request for another 2,000 Lisu Bibles (we already printed 45,000 Lisu Bibles in the year ending December 1995). Additional quantities recently have been printed for Lahu, Miao, Jingpo, Yi, Wa, and other ethnic minorities also.

The Importance of Hymnals

We already had promised to concentrate on publishing hymnals in minority languages this year (1997), with Bible printing plans to be favored again in 1998. Until recently, I had not favored hymnal production. But it became clear to me how important an ethnic minority group's hymnal is, along with the Bible in their language. The government policy has been to use the Chinese language in the schools, with no materials or textbooks provided in the language of an ethnic minority group. Christian young people and adults love to sing, and the availability of both the hymnal and the Bible in their mother tongue actually helps them learn how to read and write it as well as to sing it.

As Christians sing while working in the fields and around their homes, other villagers learn to sing the same songs—which praise God, focus on Jesus the Savior, and call people everywhere to repent and believe in the Lord Jesus. This makes the production of hymnals a priority project for us this year.

l believe that the rapid growth in the number of Christians is directly related to the availability of hymnals in certain areas. In FG county of the NJ Lisu Autonomous Region, 73% of the population is Christian. Believers there expect that after a few more years 100% will confess Christ as Savior and Lord! The availability of a hymnal is an extremely important factor.

For example, in 1996 the very first version of the White Yi hymnal was published. In autumn 1995 I visited the Yi church area. Believers there had just completed the hymnal translation and they stuffed the manuscript into my hands, urging me to arrange publication of the hymnal. In May 1996 I was able to find a printer for this project, but the printer shortly afterward returned the manuscript because it lacked clarity. The Yi Christians had to re-draw every let-

GHINA - Aikman

emoffett

From:

"Dave Hackett" < hackett@pff.net>

To:

<hackett@pff.net>

Sent:

Wednesday, February 18, 2004 3:45 PM

Subject:

Dick Staub interview with David Aikman on Jesus in Beijing

Friends, here's a wonderful interview posted today by Dick Staub at www.dickstaub.com. Dick and I are on the board of visionSynergy directing Phill Butler's ministry, and I've really enjoyed getting to know this remarkable man. If you go to the Web site you can also hear an audio version of this interview.

Dave Hackett

DS INTERVIEW: David Aikman: Jesus in Beijing February 15th, 2004

Interview of David Aikman by Dick Staub

Well welcome everybody. You know, our next guest is a respected journalist and former Beijing Bureau Chief for Time magazine. His most recent book is a stunning look at how Christianity is transforming China and how that could change the global balance of power.

- Q. I'm referring to David Aikman. And his book is Jesus in Beijing, published by Regnery. David, thank you for joining us today.
- A. Thank you for having me on the program.
- Q. You know, the first thought that comes to mind when I-when I read the introduction to this book and the early chapters is, My, how things have changed. I mean, you started your interest in this subject when you were a bureau chief in a China that was very closed, was not accessible. Now we've got a book with photos, stories, and a lot more access.

 A. Right.
- Q. Talk about how things have changed so dramatically since you were a bureau chief.

 A. Well, when I was in China in the 1980's it was just beginning to open up. I mean, the decisions by

Deng Xiaoping in 1978/79 began to open China right after their sort of hibernation during the cultural revolution. But it basically has taken two decades for the changes to shake down through society and to open every aspect of Chinese society to a much greater degree. Now, you still have very tight restrictions on religion and you still have persecution there of course. But it's possible to get around China, to go to places without asking permission from the Foreign Ministry and so on, and that was not the case two decades ago.

Q. You know, there is a growing self-awareness within China of the importance of religion in understanding the West and even in understanding itself. You start with a remarkable lecture that was delivered to some tourists in which someone who was not a member of the religious right nevertheless gives credit to Christianity for the way the West has shaped its society.

A. Right. Well, and of course, China isn't influenced by the polarity of our own society, and China has had in force secularization for five decades.

O Ilh-huh

A. So to-to break out of the sort of cliches about religion being, you know, okay with the people and

retrogressive and reactionary, et cetera, is to them a leap of intellectual adventure. Whereas in our own society we are still dealing with the reaction against the religious presence that you can see everywhere in the media.

- Q. Yeah. You talk about the strategic placement of Christians. Talk about some of the places that you find Christians that are really quite important when we think about what's happening in China. A. Well, they're in the Foreign Service. They're in the Academy of Social Sciences, which is a major sort of think-tank institution. They are within the Party, secretly of course. They are within ministries. They are very prominent in many universities. They are in areas of culture like symphony orchestras, popular music. I mean, they're just showing up in many parts of society where you wouldn't have expected to find Christians.
- Q. You describe this as an opportune time for Christianity in China. But what are some of the dynamics that have meant that right now is a time where there can be some tremendous growth and opportunities for growth of the Church in China?
- A. Well, I think probably the most dramatic growth may be over. I would say that occurred in the '80s and '90s. Throughout the 1980s and then in the early '90s. Christianity is still growing a lot. I think the point is that there is a spiritual vacuum in China that for quite a long time nobody has believed in Marxism-Leninism, and people want to know, well, what's life all about? I mean, is it just a question of getting rich and then you've got the problems of corruption? And the sort of official Marxism ethical system isn't adequate to deal with that. So people are open for explanations of life and a reality that makes sense of what they have to deal with on a daily basis.
- Q. You also describe a movement of what are referred to as "cultural Christians," Christians that are developing a kind of Chinese Christian worldview, and how that could have really important impact in years to come as China becomes a global superpower, which they expect to do within a couple of decades actually.
- A. Right. Well, the cultural Christians are nominally very interesting because what it means is a person who accepts the ethical system of Christianity may accept basic gospel truth, but doesn't necessarily belong to a church, is not part of any organized Christian group, and yet is interested in all of the manifestations of Christian cultural and intellectual life for the last 2,000 years. And they're really quite influential.
- Q. And why would they not want to be part of a church?
- A. Well, for a couple of reasons. One is, it's still risky. That is, although you can go to church if you are a person of some responsibility and position, it could be harmful to your career. The other is, they don't think the church in China has grasped the intellectual dimensions that Christianity faces in a way that it should. And so they're sort of cut off from normal Christian life and community.
- Q. Well, and for people that understand that, people in the West to understand that, we have to start exploring the China Christian Council, the Three Self Church Movement, and House Church Movement, which are very different from each other. And I think what you're saying is in a certain sense the cultural Christian really doesn't connect well to either of them.
- A. Well, cultural Christians don't connect well with the official Protestant group, which is the Three Self Patriotic Movement, because that group is very much under the control of the Religious Affairs Bureau, which is an expression of the Party and the Party's view of religion. Nor do cultural Christians connect very much with most of the House Church Christians because the House Church Christians, on the whole, tend to be in the countryside. They tend to be not very well educated, they don't really understand the issues that the cultural Christians consider in understanding China and, in fact, in understanding life. So I'd say that it'll be quite awhile before the churches catch up with where these cultural Christians are.

Q. Do these cultural Christians self-identify in such a way that they could actually become kind of a Third Stream Church? A different kind of church?

A. Well yes, some people think that may happen. They think that the cultural Christians may sort of reinvent church, at least in the Chinese context. I wouldn't go so far as to say that myself, but it's interesting. One of the most prominent cultural Christians in China, Liu Xiaofeng, is frequently mentioned by students in sort of campus polls across China as the Chinese intellectual they most admire.

Q. Really. Interesting.

A. And he's a guy who has written very searching books about life, about the Christian gospel, about what truth is. And-and this is very attractive to a group in the young, you know, to part of the younger generation.

I'll tell you what. We'll pick up there when we come back with David Aikman. Don't go away.

(Break)

Well, this is Dick Staub back with you. And my guest this afternoon is David Aikman. His book is Jesus in Beijing, published by Regnery.

Q. One of the things I always appreciate about David is he speaks in the measured terms of a journalist and doesn't get caught up in the hyperbole that, frankly, is quite easy to find language for when you look at a place like China because it's... My own impression of China is that everything is true and nothing is true. When you talk to Westerners about Chinese Christianity, most of them have just a little piece of the pie and through that they try to translate all of-all of China. And China is obviously immense geographically, but also there's a tremendous diversity that has emerged within the Christian movement. Now, for people that don't know, David, let's talk just a bit about the Three Self Church. And first of all, what kind of... How do we go about getting a number for the number of Christians in China when you combine Chinese Christian Council, the House Church Movement, the cultural Christians? What-what-what estimates come to mind?

A. Well, of course you're quite right to ask that question. It is, in fact, an estimate, but through various criteria to go on. But to answer your first question, because that will help explain the second, the Three Self Patriotic Movement is a sort of umbrella organization for Protestant churches in China, which was set up in the 1950s to enable the Communist Party, through Protestant clergy, to control Protestant Christianity. And it has, in many ways, sort of effected the theology for a long time. In a Three Self church, if you were a pastor, even if you were an evangelical, and many of them are, you were not allowed to preach on the book of Daniel, you weren't allowed to preach on Genesis, you weren't allowed to speak about the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Anyway, the Three Self churches claim these are the churches that are open and visible and operating on a weekly basis on Sunday. They claim about 15 to 20 million people. And that's probably a fairly accurate assessment of church membership or churchgoing throughout China. The Christians in the House Church, or what is sometimes called the Unregistered Christian Communities - unregistered because they don't want to have any connection with government, they don't want to register the Three Self, considering the Three Self is really too visible - they are reckoned to be about three times as large as the Three Self Christians. So let's suppose you've got 15 million Protestant Christians attached to the Three Self. It's estimated that there may be as many as 45 million who attend House churches. So you were at about 50 million, and then maybe add on another 12 for the Catholics. So we're talking 70 to 80 million people here.

Q. Which is amazing.

A. It is amazing when you consider, Dick, that in 1949 there were only 3 million Catholics and fewer

than one million Protestants.

O. Yeah.

A. Whereas the population today of 1.3 million is only about two-and-a-half times as big as that.

Q. Yeah. What's interesting about the comment you just made is you often hear people say that the best thing that ever happened to China was the withdrawal of Western missionaries. And yet one of the nice things about your book, Jesus in Beijing, is that you set it in the context of the history of Christianity in China which pays proper respect to the Nestorians, the Jesuits, the Hudson Taylors. There's been a lot of groundbreaking and seed planting over the centuries that provided a context in which this-this House Church Movement, in particular, has seen rapid and explosive growth.

A. Absolutely true. I mean, you can't... The current Christian flourishing in China didn't take place in a vacuum. Of course in many ways it took place through the cold or the suffering, but certainly as a result

of the seeds carefully planted by many generations of previous Christian groups.

Q. When we-when we think about the-the-the attitude of the House Church towards the Three Self Church, how would you describe that-that attitude and relationship, and explain why they feel the way they do about the Three Self Church?

A. Well, the leaders of the House churches say the only head of our church is Jesus Christ.

Q. Yeah.

A. If we register, if we join the Three Self, which we're constantly being asked to do, we have to have a pastor appointed for us by the China Christian Council, or the Three Self Patriotic Movement. And furthermore, he is approved by the Religious Affairs Bureau, which is an organization subordinate to the Chinese government to the Communist Party, whose leader was an atheist.

Q. Yeah. Now, they're referring to...

A. Wenzhou.

Q. Yeah. And so their attitude is that-that the Three Self Church is just kind of a puppet in submission to the government. But in your book you get a broader flavor. You get the idea that there are seminary graduates who are-who are fairly evangelical and orthodoxed in their theology, that within the Three Self Movement most people would enter a worship service and feel they were in a-in the presence of an evangelical expression. How-how do we, as Westerners, understand the difference in perspective of the House Church towards the Three Self Church. And what is, in fact, in place in the Three Self Church? A. Well, the Three Self Church is, as you say, often quite evangelical. And I think it's probably true that the majority of the pastors are evangelical. But the-the leadership of the Three Self is trying to ram down the throats of everybody a sort of theology which is warmed-over 1950s social gospel liberalism.

O. Really.

A. Yeah. So there's a lot of resentment in that. And of course the House churches don't want anything to do with that.

Q. Yeah.

A. But nevertheless the House churches and the Three Self pastors do have quite good relationships at the grass roots. Theologically, you would find the House churches more evangelical and, in fact, in most cases more charismatic.

Q. Yeah.

A. Whereas you wouldn't find any Three Self Church which was charismatic.

- Q. Yeah. It is interesting, though, you have this wonderful, in the Appendix, the confession of faith A. Right.
- Q. which was an attempt to come to a common doctrine among the House Church Movements. And to have a really nice way of walking a fine line about, for instance, the gift of tongues, which they say we will not, you know, we do not believe that they have ceased, but we also do not believe they're the only evidence of the filling of the Holy Spirit. So for all of what sometimes is described as our lack of sophistication, they actually seem to be for the most part coming to a fairly orthodox theology.

 A. Well, I think they're very orthodox and they're very balanced.

Q. Yeah.

A. I mean, I think the richness of China's church is that it has been much influenced by some outstanding reformed evangelical teachers and leaders. One of them died recently. In fact, one of the sort of heroes of the foreigners who've influenced China in recent years in my book, Reverend Jonathan Chao, sadly died a few weeks ago.

Q. Oh my.

A. So... And he was outstanding as a sort of theologian and as a teacher of the basis to reform Protestant Christian doctrine. At the same time you get people like Dennis Balcombe, who profoundly influenced much of the House Church in learning how to liven up worship, and how to be open to the Holy Spirit's movements and the gifts of the Spirit. So you've got a rich coming together of different traditions of the evangelical Protestant community.

I'll tell you what. We've got to take a break. We'll be back with more of David Aikman right after this.

(Break)

Well, this is Dick Staub. We're visiting with Dave Aikman. His new book is Jesus in Beijing, and it's published by Regnery.

Q. We've been talking about the-the Three Self Church and the House Church Movement. And one of the issues that comes up often with Westerners is the contentious issue of whether Chinese Christians can, in fact, get Bibles. And you have this wonderful section in your book on Amity Press and the availability of Bibles, and the fact that they have distributed a lot of Bibles. And yet the House Church still has reasons why they, again, do not want to form a close association with Amity Press which is part of the Three Self Church. Talk about that issue of-of the availability of Bible texts and how Amity Press relates to the House Church Movement.

A. A Chinese who wishes to buy a Bible can usually do so quite easily in any of the official churches in any of the cities in China. I say usually because sometimes they're out of stock and many times they won't let you buy more than one at a time. However, you cannot buy Bibles in any ordinary Chinese bookstore, although you can, of course, buy copies of Buddhist scriptures and so on. And so for House Church Communities in remoter parts of China, it's very difficult for them to make the trek to the nearest city, which may be miles away, and get enough Bibles to satisfy the needs of their community because, as I say, one Christian can go and buy one Bible, maybe two, but he can't go and buy a dozen.

Q. Yeah. So-so when-when people in the West generalize about China, and they look at the House Church Movement and the Three Self, they usually come down on one side or the other of which is a legitimate expression of the Body of Christ and they come to the same conclusion about Bibles. And you've got, you know, the Billy Graham and Son associated with believing that Bibles are available, and-and denominations like the Christian Missionary Alliance that have been involved in Hong Kong and throughout China who are working cooperatively with the Three Self Church. And then you've got

a whole bunch of para-church ministries that kind of underground, connected to the House Church Movement smuggling Bibles. Can you kind of put a cap on this part of the discussion by helping us in the West understand how we-we might have a clearer view of the right relationship of what's happening with the Church in China?

A. Well, I would say it's legitimate to have the relationship through an existing American church with the Three Self. I have no objection to people who provide material or books at seminaries who pay for the printing the Bibles which, of course, many of the Protestant churches in the United States have done. But I'm totally against the view that you shouldn't have any dealing with the other groups, because they have needs, too. Particularly because they don't have any places to meet without facing considerable risk often and because they're not recognized, they can't simply be a conduit for the importation of books from overseas. And so in effect their teaching materials have to be brought in by friends from overseas —

Q. Yeah.

A. – who know what their needs are. So I'm against dogmatic identification with either one group or... Certainly identification with China's Christians in one group at the expense of the other group. I think we have to be able to do both.

Q. When you try to understand House Church and why it's grown rapidly, you get the sense in your book that you talk about persecution, and you would talk about genuine miraculous work of the Spirit of God. I mean, there's healings, there's miracles, you feel like you're reading the book of Acts when you read some of these stories.

A. That's absolutely true. You do feel like reading the book of Acts. And I mean it's... Certainly persecution has played a role in the growth of the Church. I mean, Christianity has flourished. It's certainly been in many ways as healthy as under persecution because they trimmed a lot of the excesses of life that it's come by when things were too easy. But it's also true that for some reason which, you know, only the sovereignty of God can explain, many, many Chinese come into a faith experience of the Christian gospel through some form of miraculous healing, either in their own lives or in the lives of people they know well. And it is very, very striking. You don't have to spend much time in China to realize that lots and lots of people — far more I would say than you would find normally in the United States — have had first-hand experience of what seemed like miraculous healing.

Q. Yeah. There's another aspect of the House Church that was fascinating. And that is the degree to which they are a combination of fairly supportive of the United States, or have a positive attitude towards the West, and also their call to the Islamic world.

A. Yes.

Q. And the fact that they feel the call to be part of what God might do with Muslims.

A. Right. Well, they are... They do tend to be pro-American, obviously, because they know that in America Christians are free and they get a lot of help from the United States churches, so they're very grateful for that. And also they-they take a view of America as having, having had on the whole, a very good influence all over the world. I mean, which countries are first always to provide emergency aid after earthquakes and volcanoes? It's always the Americans. So they appreciate that. Now, in the case of the Moslems as a movement in the Chinese churches, particularly the House Churches, it's called Back to Jerusalem. And essentially this is a sort of nation-wide concept that the destiny of the Chinese church is to complete the great commission insofar as reaching the Moslem world, et cetera.

O. Wow.

A. And that's not something we spend a lot of time doing, but they do.

Q. You know, one of the inspirational aspects of your book, Jesus in Beijing, is the stories of, well, the

Pathfinders and also the Patriarchs and the Uncles and Aunts, the Chinese, in particular, who have paid the price. And you talk about the Nelson Mandela of Chinese Christianity and the chance that you had to meet him. And the moving departure in which he stood up and sang a hymn with you. What a moment that must have been.

A. Yes. Yeah.

Q. Tell us about that gentleman.

A. He-he... After we had this meeting he stood up at attention, his wife with him, and sang, in English, "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Q. And what impact that he made in the Chinese church. Just give us a thumbnail of him. A. He, first of all, he was a pioneer of independent, non-supervised Christian churches long before the Communists came to power.

O. Wow.

A. I mean, it's an irony that the Communist Party in forming the Three Self said they wanted Chinese churches to be self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-administering. In other words, they didn't want missionaries or foreign churches controlling, pulling the strings. Okay, fair enough. Well, he had figured that description in his own evangelical church in Beijing from the 1930s onward.

O. Yeah.

A. And during World War II when the Japanese occupied North China and Beijing, or Peking as it was called, he refused to have anything to do with them, and he said Christianity is not primarily about politics. When the Communists came through, came to power, they said, Well now, it's time for you to join the People's Revolution. He said, I don't have anything against the government or your regime, but I'm not going to allow you to control what we preach in our church.

I'll tell you what. We'll pick up there when we come back with some concluding comments from Dave Aikman. But you can spend more time with him by picking up a copy of his wonderful book, Jesus in Beijing, published by Regnery. We'll be right back.

(Break)

Well, this is Dick Staub back with you. We're visiting with Dave Aikman. His new book is Jesus in Beijing. It's published by Regnery.

Q. We were just talking about what David refers to as the Nelson Mandela of Chinese Christianity, and a man who understood the Three Self concept of the church prior to the government imposition, and was a very individualistic and Christ-centered and glorifying leader. And finish up the story, David. But I think it would be important to tell folks that there are a lot of stories like this in the book. And the story of China and the growth of the Church in China is absolutely built on people like this.

A. It really is. I mean, Wang Mingdao, whom we're talking about, was greatly admired by all of China's Protestant Christians when the Communists came to power. And he steadfastly refused to cooperate. Well then they arrested him and they brainwashed him and basically tortured him. And he broke in 1957 and sort of began to cooperate and everybody was very dismayed. And then he wandered around Beijing, or Peking as – well then, it was called Beijing then – saying I am Peter, I am Peter, but I am not Judas.

Q. Wow.

A. And he finally, when they came to pushing him and pushing him to cooperate with the authorities he said, No, I made the mistake the first time. I won't do it. And that's when they put him into prison, into

labor camp for 22 years.

Q. Wow. Oh man. Well folks, I just want to encourage you to read more of these stories. Let's wrap up with a few comments about China's Christian future. One of the most kind of strategic forward-looking aspects of the book is the way it talks about a "Christianized China." You know, not the majority of China, maybe 20 to 30 percent, but could have tremendous impact. And you talk about could this mean a more responsible power in China? Or is there still a concern of emerging menace? A. Well, I-I make it clear in the book that there's lots of things that could go wrong in China. You could have a sort of alpha-nationalist reaction against all of the Western contacts just as you did during the Boxer Rebellion in the year 1900. But what I say is that at the present rate of growth in China, it's possible that within 20 to 30 years, 20 to 30 percent of the Chinese will be Christian, which would take place about the same time China is emerging as a sort of number two superpower in the world. And I made the point that when you have 20 to 30 percent of any country that are Christian believers, and not just nominal Christians but quite serious committed Christians, you find them showing up throughout society in places of influence, including eventually politics. And if that happened, then China as a major power would have the same kind of view of itself and its global responsibility that say Great Britain had in the 19th century and the United States - although it certainly made a few mistakes - that the United States has honestly tried to pursue in the 20th century and now in the 21st century.

Q. How does the disproportionate size of the church being from rural areas affect that concept?

A. Well that's beginning to change. You're beginning to get evangelization of cities. You've got already quite a strong presence of Christian professionals. The one area which I don't think has been reached very effectively by China's evangelists are what I would call the urban poor —

Q. Hm.

A. – which is a paradox because when Christianity began it was the urban poor in the cities of the Roman Empire that were reached first. But in China it seems to be last.

Q. Interesting. What about the prospects of democracy? People in the West remember Tiananman Square. They view democracy as both following a Christian movement and also being a political expression of it. How does that fit?

A. Well, you are not going to be able to introduce democracy overnight in a place like China with its history of Communist repression and civil war and revolution. And I think the interesting thing is nobody in China, Christian or anybody else, wants to see an instant switch. They'd like to see a visible evolutionary course. And some people could argue, well, that's already happening because Chinese are no longer chained to the same job or the same workplace for life by a sort of government-organized bureaucracy that tells them when they can get married and all that sort of stuff. Chinese can travel abroad. They can go to Hong Kong, which is basically a free society still. What I think we're going to see are assuming the changes in society which will devolve the decision-making process to the point where it's then acceptable to have political choice and political freedom.

Q. Hm.

A. When that happens I think we can consider it feasible for constitutional democracy to arrive.

Q. We've been talking about how Christianity could change China. How might China change the movement of Christianity in the world?

A. Well, there's an interesting book by a sort of scholar of missions called Philip Jenkins called The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity, in which he shows that there is a shift in the center of gravity of Christianity from north to south because there are more and more Christians in the southern hemisphere, in South American and in Africa, and increasingly large numbers in Asia than you find in the traditional seats of the Christian presence, namely Europe and North America. Now, if that's

happening then, and if China is going to be emerging as a country with perhaps the largest number of Christians anywhere in the world, you can be quite sure that China's Christian presence is going to play an influence in the development of global Christianity.

Q. You know, you're not only a wonderful journalist and a man who has spent a lot of time in China, but you're also a person of faith. And when I'm reading this book and when I'm thinking about the-the dynamics of China and the diversity of it and the strategic importance of and-and the potential for good or ill that China has, how does what you know about China affect the way you pray about China and the way you pray about the people and Christians in China?

A. Well of course, if you've met people who are Christians in China many of them have been arrested several times, many of them have been arrested since I first met them. You know what they go through, you know what their challenges are. You know the quality of the spiritual life that is born in suffering and that has an effect on you.

Q. Yeah. It does and it, in a certain sense, calls us into a greater accountability as a Westerner. I mean, is it difficult for you to transition back into the United States after you've spent time with those Christians and then you see kind of the state of Christianity in America?

A. Well yes, in a sense it is. I mean, everybody who's been with Christians in the Third World experiences culture shock. You know, sitting in a church with comfortable pews and, you know, the church having to compete with this social event or that social event. And on the whole I think Americans have not been very diligent about prayer, they're not necessarily very diligent about – well, some are – but I think there's a flabbiness, sort of muscular vigor in American Christianity which you don't see in the Third World. And you certainly don't see in China.

Folks, we've been visiting with Dave Aikman and I know you've enjoyed it. You can spend more time with him by picking up a copy of his latest book, Jesus in Beijing, published by Regnery. Available at your local bookstores or online. Again, Dave Aikman, thanks for being with us. The book is Jesus in Beijing. We'll be right back.

Chinese Lessons



Revival in the mainland: Young believers pack into one of China's "unofficial" house churches to worship and pray.

What Chinese Christians taught a U.S. congressional delegation.

KAREN M. FEAVER

In recent months, Chinese authorities in Beijing have intensified their long-standing efforts against the "unauthorized" spread of Christianity in communist China. New laws have been enacted to curb "subversive" activity by foreign missionaries and the country's "underground" house churches. Last January, Karen Feaver, an aide to Virginia Congressman Frank Wolf, took part in a U.S. delegation to Beijing. Although the trip was political, Feaver found herself enthralled by the spiritual. Here she reflects on the courage and zeal of a church gripped by persecution.

he three Chinese ladies were waiting quietly when we entered the room, their peaceful faces showing no hint of the magnitude of their testimonies. They had traveled a long way from their homes and were risking prison or worse just for meeting with our delegation from the United States Congress. But they came none-

theless. What they shared should be bracing tonic for American Christians who have lost touch with the power and insight of the persecuted church.

After making sure all curtains were drawn against the prying eyes of the Chinese security service, our translator invited the three women to share their stories. For three hours, our delegation of privileged Americans, headed by Congressman Chris Smith of New Jersey and including members of Christian Solidarity International, heard how a new chapter of Acts is being written throughout China.

Although the worst time for the church was during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and '70s, the underground church still faces severe persecution on the local level. The Chinese government is now saying there is true freedom of religion in China and that no one is arrested because of faith. But in the provinces, believers are still fined, imprisoned, and tortured; local regulations still prohibit unofficial

church gatherings, teaching those under age 18 about Christ, traveling to share the gospel, listening to foreign religious broadcasting, receiving religious materials without state approval, and fasting and praying for healing.

The eldest of the three women spoke from fresh experience, having just been released from her second prison term. During her 110 days in captivity, she was hung upside down and beaten with electrical cords. The other women imprisoned with her were beaten with wire from the waist down. Their crime: meeting with an evangelist from Hong Kong. Like the martyrs from the early church, she said that God's presence was so tangible during the torture that, in fact, she felt joyful. "Because of these afflictions, we loved the souls of China more," she said, "and we prayed for those who were torturing us."

Despite her ordeal, she smiled often as she spoke. I have heard about the unusual lack of resentment among sufferers in China. Her testimony confirmed this sweetness of spirit.

"The local regulations are against the Word of God," one of the younger women explained, "so we ignore them and have been traveling in groups of 10 to

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ChineseLessons

20 to share the gospel since the early 1980s. The only way the church can survive is through evangelism." Congressmen do not normally take notes for themselves, but Chris Smith picked up his pen to record personally their daily battle cry: "We go out ready to preach the gospel, ready to go to jail, and ready to die for Jesus' sake."

herever we go, signs and wonders follow our sisters and brothers," the ladies said. During their outreach trip to Sichuan Province, they claimed to have seen many miracles: the blind seeing, the deaf hearing. They told how during a meeting in which no one wanted to believe, someone lame for 70 years got up and walked.

Two stories stick out for me. The women told of a Saullike public security officer who was intent on finding and persecuting the underground believers. Last year his believing wife became so ill that she could neither talk nor walk. The family spent 80,000 yuan (about \$10,000 dollars) searching for a cure. The local believers decided to show the officer forgiveness and went to pray for his wife. She was miraculously healed, and her husband gave his life to the Lord. He said to them, "Now I know you Christians are really good people. Before I always persecuted Christians, but now I will tell you if the government wants to harm you."

"God used his miracles to protect us," one of the women added softly.

Another testimony revolved around a brother sharing the simple message of repentance and faith with a crowd hearing the gospel for the first time. A vision of Jesus walking among them and then suffering on the cross appeared to all gathered. When the teacher told of Jesus rising from the dead, the vision showed Jesus ascending "to heaven gloriously." Through that vision, many people surrendered their lives to the Lord.

The only prayer requests the women expressed were for Bibles and freedom. The need for Bibles for new converts is boundless because of the amazing growth of the Chinese church. They said smuggled Bibles continue to be necessary since government regulations hinder Bible distribution to underground believers.

The church in China contains between 30 and 80 million believers, and



Taking note: With a shortage of Bibles, Chinese believers are thirsting for knowledge.

it is growing fast. One house-church leader described the great spiritual hunger among the young that followed Tiananmen Square. A young Christian businessman told us of leading 70 percent of his workers to Christ in a matter of months. The women spoke of 40,000 coming to Christ during one recent month of "gospel sharing."

They also asked that we pray for freedom so they could travel openly to preach the gospel throughout China, in America, and then "all the way back to Jerusalem to finish the task."

he revival going on in China could well be the greatest in the history of the church, according to sinologist and journalist David Aikman of *Time* magazine, and it has much to teach us here in America. While I still wrestle with all the lessons the Chinese church can teach us, I found these differences to be especially instructive:

First, I believe there is a word of caution for us in the apolitical nature of China's underground church. They fervently pray for their leaders but maintain a careful independence. We are privileged to live in a participatory democracy, but having worked in American politics for almost a decade, I have seen more than a few believers trade in their Christian birthright for a mess of earthly pottage. We must continually ask ourselves: Is our first aim to change our government or to see lives in and out of government changed for Christ?

The second difference is the Chinese church's focus on the centrality of the gospel and on obeying the Great Commission. As I heard those sisters share, I could not help but thlnk of our endless debates on peripheral issues, such as the validity of charismatic gifts, women's roles in the church, and so on. To

these three women, the reality of God's miraculous power was the only explanation for the survival and growth of the church in China. And telling of God's wonders was certainly not limited by gender.

The third difference is the most convicting—at least for me. When the three women had left, I asked our translator whether they needed any financial help. She looked at me thoughtfully and said, "Oh, they do ... and they don't." I knew what she meant. Even the American church, the wealthiest church in the world, always seems to find itself low on cash; yet the Chinese church is too busy fulfilling the Great Commission to notice their poverty.

We would do well to consider the contrasting judgments of the church in Revelation 3 and 7. They have been ringing in my heart since my return, and they speak volumes about our Christianity today and the purity I saw in the Chinese church.

To the Laodiceans, God says, "I know your deeds, that you are neither cold nor hot. . . . So, because you are lukewarm—neither hot nor cold—I am about to spit you out of my mouth. You say, 'I am rich; I have acquired wealth and do not need a thing.' But you do not realize that you are wretched, pitiful, poor, blind and naked. I counsel you to buy from me gold refined in the fire, so you can become rich, and white clothes to wear, so you can cover your shameful nakedness" (3:15–18, NIV).

Regarding the apostle's vision of those arrayed in white, worshiping before the throne of God, he is told: "These are they who have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore, 'they are before the throne of God and serve him day and night in his temple; and he who sits on the throne will spread his tent over them. Never again will they hunger; never again will they thirst. . . . For the Lamb at the center of the throne will be their shepherd. . . . And God will wipe away every tear from their eyes' " (7:14-17, NIV).

I have sat at the feet of believers in China who are being fitted even now for those white robes that will adorn the saints. Compared to their finery, I felt spiritually naked.

Karen M. Feaver is legislative assistant for foreign affairs for U.S. Congressman Frank Wolf.

New Trends

Walt Disney comics in Vietnam

Disney will be publishing comic books (bilingual in Vietnamese and English) and making them available throughout the country on August 26th. The 36-page color comic will retail at 3,500 Vietnamese dong (\$0.30US). Pirated copies of Disney cartoons have occasionally been broadcast in the past on Vietnamese state television. Forty percent of Vietnam's 75 million people are under 15 years of age, and most of the country is literate.

Corporate empires expand

In 1996 there are 40,000 multinational corporations which control 70% of world trade. Shell, the world's most profitable company, has annual sales of US\$100 billion—over three times the annual income of Nigeria's total population. One third of world trade is composed just of internal transactions within multinational corporations. 70% of the world wheat trade is controlled by six multinationals. Although multinationals account for 33% of the world's productive assets, they are responsible for only 5% of the world's employment. A multinational's nature allows it to show profits in countries with the lowest taxation and locate production in countries with the lowest wages. (New Internationalist)

Church growth in Malani

"There is continued amazing growth from the 'Living Waters Church' in Blantyre, Malawi's capitol. In only 8 yrs., the church grew from 80 members to 10,000. In the meantime, the church has become a denomination with 55,000 members...the main growth comes not from creating a megachurch but from the 175 churches planted in 24 of the country's districts by the head church...but the mission vision does not stop there...there are already 10 'Living Waters' churches in Mozambique and 2 in Tanzania with others planted in Kenya, Uganda & two of the Baltic states." (1st AG Prayer Concerns, 25 Sep 1996)

Drugs on the old Silk Road

The ancient Silk Road route, which bore tea, textiles and spices to Europe through Central Asia, is now a principle smuggling route for drugs—mainly opium from Afghanistan. Kyrgyzstan has called for international help to battle the surging narcotics business that feeds organized crime. Border controls are little threat on the main road, and other nomads travel through the many passes in the Pamir Mountains. Drugs enter Kyrgyzstan from the Tajik mountain region of Gorno-Badkshan—held by Muslim rebels and out of the control of the Tajik government. The mountains are difficult to patrol—temperatures are bitterly cold, often falling far below zero. Sniffer dogs are ineffective due to altitude and temperature. To make matters worse the narcotics gangs in Kyrgyzstan are forming ties with Kazakh and Russian groups. Recently, heroin has begun to be smuggled through. For those living in Gorno-Badkshan, drugs are the only means of existence, having taken the place of money as a form of currency. The Kyrgyz estimate only a tenth of what is smuggled in is actually captured. Crime has exploded: from 904 drug-related crimes in 1990 to 2,623 in 1996 (Missionwatch, 30 Sep 1996).

China's soaring book prices driving away readers

The publishing industry's profit margins have hit 200%. The average number of books purchased per person has declined from 5.93 in 1985 to 5.51 last year, while gross receipts from book sales jumped from \$302 million to \$2.2 billion. Publishers cited the increased costs of paper, printing and labor, but the costs associated with these do not account for a ten-times increase in price. Greed on the part of publishers and private dealers is more likely, with publishing houses taking 110% profit, and stores taking 90% profit. With these trends, Bibles will be even harder to purchase, but people hunting for books to read may be more eager to receive Bibles and other materials which are given away or sold at very cheap rates. The Bible League (708-331-2094) and Open Doors with Brother Andrew (714-531-6000) both have large distribution networks in China.

Materialism growing in China?

Perhaps the worst example of the recent growth of capitalism and the black market in China is the story of a six-yearold boy who drowned in south China. "There were many people fishing, walking and playing on either side of the tiver," noted news reports carried by the UPI newswire. The bystanders, however, refused to rescue him unless his sister paid to save his brother's life.

A recent survey by the Public Opinion Research Institute of People's University found the total of Beijing's residents concerned about politics in their government had decreased by 21% over the past ten years. With China's modernization "providing people with more choices and more profits, the weight of political concerns has been

Protestantism in Contemporary China.

By Alan Hunter and Kim-Kwong Chan. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993. Pp. xxi, 291. \$64.95.

It was a pleasure to read this book. In my opinion it is the best single work on Chinese Protestants today and in the recent past. It is both a descriptive profile and an incisive analytic discussion of the nature and roles of Chinese Protestantism. But it also discusses cogently the problems of methodology and sources, and in addition to an excellent chapter on history also includes a fine chapter summarizing the Buddhist and Roman Catholic experiences and comparing them to that of Protestantism. Finally, this work sets its concluding chapter in the context of a set of wellinformed, broad cross-cultural historical reflections on Protestantism and its role in the societies of the West and the non-

Hunter is lecturer and senior research fellow in East Asian studies at Leeds; he has spent considerable time in China and Hong Kong. Chan Kim-Kwong holds doctorates in both philosophy and theology from Canada, has taught in seminaries and colleges as well as being a pastor, and is chaplain of Chung Chi College, Chinese

You menter I for Inty, 1944. (vol. 18, no. 3).

University of Hong Kong. He makes frequent visits to China. Both Hunter and Chan have worked in this field for many years, and each has several previous related publications. Their collaboration worked beautifully in this instance. One of the benefits of their long personal involvement in direct research and information-gathering in China, on top of a long residence in Hong Kong and intimate familiarity with the China churchwatching operations there, is their freedom from being tied to the claims and dubious "analysis" of other groups. They have good sense in using the sometimes problematic documentation and reports of others and have no ax of their own to grind. Overall, they consider the accounts of Jonathan Chao's research center and Overseas Missionary Fellowship's Tony Lambert to be more accurate than those of sources close to the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, but in all cases they are judicious. Thus, overall they are objective and dispassionate in their discussions, yet clearly they have also been personally

moved by the life stories of the Chinese believers whom they have encountered.

A major conclusion is that "Chinese Protestantism is now a sustainable force" (p. 278), having reproduced itself on an indigenous basis and in such numbers (certainly well over ten million, probably over twenty—the authors' discussion of statistics is excellent) that it is a permanent cultural phenomenon. This is so because it meets some important needs in society, and moreover, in doing so, "many Christian activities . . . are closely related to traditional cultural patterns" (p. 188). Chapter 4 is an ambitious attempt to specify some of these linkages to traditional culture, especially popular culture, such as in prayer, healing, charismatic phenomena, sin and salvation, the pragmatic aspects of conversion, and so forth. This chapter, while stimulating, has much speculation. But the theme of a close link to folk religion, touched on at several points in the book, is well done, as is that of Chinese believers' being very heavily focused on the supernatural (thus the strength of Pentecostalism today).

Especially good chapters are 1, setting the political and social context, and 2 and 5, which respectively profile the Prot-

estant sector and give detailed case studies of the varieties of Protestant communities. The authors very sensibly suggest and justify use of the term "autonomous Christian communities" instead of "house churches." And they convincingly project rather drastic future changes in the structures of Protestantism, believing that irresistible pressures for pluralization and church restructuring are building that will emerge dramatically when a more liberal national political climate returns.

In sum, this is a "must-read" book, to me personally even worth \$64.95. But let us hope that a paperbound edition will come out soon.

—Daniel H. Bays

Daniel H. Bays is Professor of Modern Chinese History at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. He has published several articles on aspects of the history of Christianity in nineteenth- and twentiethcentury China and directs a project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts to study the transition from foreign mission to national church in China.

Refounding the Church: Dissent for Leadership.

By Gerald A. Arbuckle. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993. Pp. ix, 224. Paperback \$18.95.

The publication of this book by a Roman Catholic anthropologist and a member of a religious order will not bring joy to the heart of Pope John Paul II and those in power in Rome. The author believes that their effort to "restore" the past, though "culturally predictable," is doomed to failure. The book is a challenge to the Catholic religious orders, out of their love for the church and faithfulness to Christ's misreduced," the survey pronounced. In other words, people are less interested in government and more interested in getting the material benefits of the government's policies. "Individual income is the most important factor in their lives," the report said.

Chinese rural peoples being moved to newly irrigated lands

165 families in three Miao minority villages in Guizhou are scheduled to be relocated in March 1997 to newly irrigated lands under a program designed to ease poverty in barren rural regions. The program is designed to provide food and clothing for China's 65 million poorest rural residents by AD 2000. Many of the poor are presently surviving on berries and leaves, and anything else edible they can find. Those relocated will receive startup money for projects in new communities, and be given 0.15 acres of farmland. The government fears unrest and social instability if the rural poor continue to be left out of the last economic drive which moved urbanites into prosperity. These moves may make World A peoples who live in the rural west more accessible to mission efforts both on from cross-cultural workers, and from the Chinese house churches.

New & Existing Plans

Foreign Mission Board to deploy official missionaries in China

The Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board has been given permission to work officially and openly with the China Christian Council, the government's official body for churches and ministries in China. Gwen Crotts, 20-year veteran of the FMB's work in Hong Kong, was appointed China Ministry Coordinator. Ministry opportunities include working with Amity Foundation.

Country plan proceeds forward

A study conducted recently in Zimbabwe shows that 2,000 churches have been planted in the country since the 1992 planning conference "Target 2000" in Harare. Four hundred of the country's Christian leaders met and agreed to work towards doubling the number of evangelical churches from around 10,000 in 1992 to 20,000 in the year 2000 "The developments to date," according to AFNET (Africa Network) coordinator Johan Combrinck, "show that the churches are on the way to achieving their high aim." (*Target 2,000*, Richmond Chiundiza, Johan Combrinck, cited in DAWN FridayFax, 20 Sep 1996).

New Events

Afghanistan taken over by Taliban militia

The onrushing Taleban forces took the capitol city of Kabul by storm on Friday, summarily executing ex-President Najibullah (who governed under the Soviet-backed regime) and chasing the fleeing government forces (under President Rabbani) toward the north. Although Pres. Rabbani called for the international community to reject the rebels, the United States asked the Taleban government to consider national reconciliation and held out the offer of full diplomatic ties. Some reports indicate the USA supported the Taleban takeover of Afghanistan. Russia called for a cessation of fighting and requested a UN statement on Afghanistan. Most of the world community called for cooperation from the Taleban, condemned its execution of the former President and three other officials, and its human rights abuses, and greeted the new government with suspicion. All seemed to believe there was no stopping the Taleban from doing whatever it wished. The new government offered an amnesty to all former government workers, incl. Pres. Rabbani, on the condition than all military and non-military state assets were returned to the capital immediately. Nearly all mission workers had been evacuated and there is no telling when they will be able to return. The Taleban immediately implemented shari'a (Islamic) law across the entire country, ordering girl's schools closed, women to remain at home, men to grow beards, prayer to be held five times a day, and a range of harsh punishments for civil offenders. The Red Cross sent a convoy of food and medical supplies to Kabul. The country isn't completely under the control of the Taleban, however; Taleban soldiers are mainly Pashto, but Uzbek troops control northern Afghanistan's fertile regions, and said they were prepared to fight if the Taleban attempted to takeover their areas. One plus: merchants are commenting that the "Taleban are very disciplined—there's no stealing or looting," unlike others in the mujahadeen. Although governments like Pakistan tried to urge refugees to return home after the Taleban took Kabul, many women refugees have refused, saying they were afraid of the new government. Afghanistan's Christians are facing persecution and martyrdom under the new laws, and evangelism will be severely curtailed for some time to come. (Missionwatch, multiple news sources, 9/30/96).

Som Milet

Phoenie S. E. - Feb. 17, 1996

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CNCR China News and Church Report



China Ministries International - Chinese Church Research Center, Rev. Jonathan Chao, Ph.D., President/ Director.

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New Statistics on the Number of Christians in China

The Hong Kong office of the Amity Foundation, the charitable arm of China's officially sanctioned Protestant organisations, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and the China Christian Council (CCC), has come up with new statistics on the number of Christians in the country, according to the Far Eastern Economic Review (7 Nov 1996).

The Amity figures claim that the number of Protestants in China is now 13.3 million, up from 12.6 million a year ago. In 1994, the head of the TSPM/CCC, Bishop Ding Guangxun said while on a visit to the United States that there were 9 million. This figure is quoted by Amity in the FEER article as being the present minimum number of Protestant believers.

These figures show a significant growth in the TSPM/CCC registered churches since 1994, some of which is probably due to the pressure put upon unregistered house churches to register with the government over the last two years, and especially since the spring of this year. However, it is important to recognise that the TSPM/CCC churches are also experiencing growth in their own right. However, they still do not account for the number of Christians in unregistered house churches.

Early this year, our Centre received a report from a house church leader who had been arrested and interrogated on account of his church related activities. He was interrogated by an officer from the Ministry of State Security (MSS), which is the equivalent of the American CIA. This officer, according to the church leader, slapped the table and said, "You Christians are growing too fast. There are now 82 million of you." When the leader heard this, he rejoiced in his heart. On his release, he shared this information with his co-workers and also passed it on to a Christian traveller from Hong Kong. The MSS officer's comment about the number of Christians in China is similar to one made by a police officer to an Australian missionary prior to his deportation from Beijing in May this year (see *CNCR* 2505). Both officers expressed the Chinese government's desire to contain the growth of Christianity.

If this information is true, and this Centre believes that the figure is not impossible, then significant growth has taken place in the church since 1992 when we learned indirectly from a State source that there were 63 million Protestants and 12 million Catholics. It is still not clear whether the 82 million figure includes Catholics or not. However, in the Chinese language, Protestant Christianity and Roman Catholicism are categorised as separate religions.

[•] A biweekly service of the China Ministries International for Christian leaders, researchers, and the media.

[•] Citations may be made if the source is indicated. • Compiled by Chinese Church Research Center.

[•] Subscription US\$25/1/2 yr., US\$45/yr. Make checks payable to "China Ministries International, Ltd."
U.S. subscribers may make checks payable to "China Ministries International," P.O.Box 40489, Pasadena, CA 91114-7489

Fnrthermore, they are considered two separate religions by the government, which has gronped them in separate "patriotic" religious organisations, namely the TSPM/CCC and the Catholic Patriotic Association / China Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Since the re-establishment of the TSPM in 1983, this Centre's research has estimated the ratio between TSPM/CCC believers and those of the house churches to be between 1:8 and 1:9. If this is still the case, then, according to the latest Amity figures of 13.3 million believers attending registered churches, there could be 106 million house church believers in China. If the 82 million figure is accurate, then the ratio between TSPM/CCC and house church believers has dropped to around 1:6. This could be accounted for by house churches registering with the government as a result of the ongoing registration campaign.

The speed of growth in the Christian church since 1989 has been astounding. In some areas the number of Christian believers has doubled. Henan house church leaders report that in many parts of that province, whole villages are now Christian. The factors involved in this growth are twofold. Firstly, since the 14th Commmunist Party Congress until recently, there has been a relatively tolerant attitude towards Christianity. Because of this, it is not surprising that both the house churches and the TSPM/CCC churches are seeing growth. Secondly, the fervent missionary vision of the house churches, particularly in Henan and Zhejiang Provinces has led to the planting of churches in areas previously unreached with the Gospel. Despite localised persecution, many of these churches have taken root and are preparing to follow suit.

CNCR 2544

Wang Dan Gets 11 Years

Chinese dissident Wang Dan was sentenced to 11 years in prison plns two years' deprivation of political rights at his trial for plotting to overthrow the government on 30 October. His sentence came at the end of a trial in which the supposed evidence of his offence consisted of newspaper articles he had written criticising the Chinese government's lack of respect for democracy and human rights (see *CNCR* 2538).

During his trial, he was represented by his mother, Wang Lingyun, a mnsenm researcher and Professor Yang Dunxian, a legal academic. The arguments for the defence were that the articles were a contribution by Wang to the development of Chinese society and the freedom, happiness and dignity of the Chinese people (South China Morning Post 6 Nov 1996) and that the prosecution should not quote them out of context.

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In addition, according to the Human Rights in China group based in the US, when informed by the judge of the right to request the exclusion of any judge, prosecutor or court investigator who might prejudice his right to a fair trial, Wang requested that every judge and court official there should be removed because they represented the government and therefore compromised. After a few minutes deliberation, the presiding judges, who did not have the right to make the decision under Chinese law, rejected the demand, saying that they did not represent the government (SCMP 6 Nov 1996).

The sentence of 11 years does not include the 17 months Wang Dan spent in what the authorities describe as "residential surveillance", which under Chinese law should be spent at home.

As a result of the sentence, Wang Dan has filed an appeal maintaining that the prosecution has failed to prove that he committed a crime. Even so, Wang Lingyun remains pessimistic that the appeal will succeed (SCMP 12 Nov 1996). In addition, depending on the outcome of the appeal she plans to sue the government over holding Wang Dan illegally for 17 months and for not including that period in his sentence.

centre for 30 minutes each morning and afternoon. At present, he is being held in a Beijing police detention centre (*Kanshousuo* in Chinese) in a cell with six other inmates in very bad conditions. He is reported by his mother to be suffering from stomach aches and prostate gland problems. He is also denied access to books or newspapers and his mother has not been permitted to take medicines to him although she has been allowed to give him money for extra food (*SCMP* 12 Nov 1996).

CNCR 2545

Hong Kong Selection Committee Formed

The Selection Committee which will choose Hong Kong's post 1997 chief executive and provisional legislature has now been chosen by the China-appointed Preparatory Committee for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, which was set up to prepare for the changes which will take place following the change of sovereignty on 1 July next year.

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Out of 5,791 applicants for seats on the Selection Committee, the Preparatory Committee was presented with a list of just 409 by its secretatriat, which is headed by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. Of these, the Preparatory Committee had to choose 340, as 60 seats were already allocated to Hong Kong members of the National People's Congress (NPC) and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In addition, the Preparatory Committee decided to elect 64 of its 86 Hong Kong members. Of these 64, seven were automatically entitled to seats on the basis of their membership of the NPC.

Both before and after the election, it was obvious that the Selection Committee would be dominated by pro-China and business interests. No reason was given as to why the 5,382 candidates who had applied to be on the Selection Committee were not on the ballot list given to the members of the Preparatory Committee. Nor was any basis given for producing a list of only 409 names before the election.

CNCR 2546

Chinese turning on to Christianity Some seek a focus for belief In my A Land A Land

Some seek a focus for believe in communism

On a Sunday morning in July, somewhere between the bread and the grape juice, my mind takes flight. It lands in a church more spacious than this one

and fuller, to be sure.

I have arrived too late for a sanctuary seat. All are filled an hour before the service begins. I choose the chapel but, seeing no room there, move to the fellowship hall. Later arrivals will hear the sermon and sing the hymns from the courtyard. Remote-broadcast equipment makes it possible to reach the 2,000 who may be here for each of three Sunday services.

My fellow worshippers at First Baptist Church of Peoria, struggling to fill its pews, would suspect I have been into something harder than grape juice and in doses bigger than communion cups. They would be partly right.

In my mind, I am visiting the Shanghai Community Church in China: a half-dozen clergy, 250 new members, four-



Third of five part

Mantz Drake Third of five parts

color informational brochures, English translations. House Speaker Newt Gingrich heard a translation when he worshipped here on Easter Sunday, as did the Australian Prime Minister. Pastor Yang Anding wished them peace.

One hundred years after my missionary ancestors left for China, the Chinese are turning on to Christianity. Shanghai's Mu-En Church took in 400 new members last year, 35 percent of them Generation Xers. It has four services on Sunday and special programs

Please see CHINA, Page A7



FROM PAGE A1

CHINA

every night of the week. A church in Hangzhou reports 300 new members a year. One in Shantou says 400 to 500 annual baptisms are common-place. Some 25 seminaries and more than 35,000 churches are

operating.

There is little agreement on the number of Christians — the China Christian Council estimates 12 million but other sources say as many as 100 million — but widespread acknowledgment that the number is growing. Andrew Ku, our host at the Community Church, says it's because people visit and come away with respect for those they meet.

They find out that Christians do as they say," he says. Others suggest it's the search for something to believe in, now that people no longer be-

lieve in communism.

The Community Church was founded in the 1920s by foreigners and for foreigners, primarily Americans wanted to sing hymns they knew in a language they could understand. Though J.T. and Nellie Proctor, my great-grandparents, are honored there as founders, their missionary daughter, Mildred Proctor, said their involvement was limited to occasional attendance and support. They were more at home at another church, one with Chinese leadership.

In a summary she wrote of their work in 1947, Nellie Proctor said J.T. hadn't been in China long when he concluded that preaching on street corners was ineffective. If Christianity were to survive in this land of Confucianism and suspicion, the Chinese had to take it over. He maintained that missionaries should focus on putting into place the educational and organizational structures that would make it possible for them to leave. Chinese missionaries and the folks back home who supported them argued that point for 30 years.

To understand why, the

context is helpful. scientist Stuart Social Creighton Miller writes that many Christians of the era subscribed to the "domino theory" of worldwide salvation, and China was the biggest domino, hence the focus of mission work. They thought that "conversion of her huge populace would topple pagan defenses



BERNARD DRAKE/for the J

Need evidence of the power of the human spirit? You see it in the faces of these second- and thirdgeneration Christians and Proctor family friends from Shanghai. They are from left Xiao An-Min, a former biotechnology professor; Ho Ching Chang, who once headed the YMCA in Shar Betty Bao, daughter of J.T. Proctor's of Chinese friend; and Andrew Ku, a measurements professor and active mem the Shanghai Community Church.

seem, they proved more enlightened than what was to

The Cultural Revolution shut down China's churches just as it shut down her universities. The government confis-cated the buildings and sent pastors to factories, farms or re-education camps. The Mu-En Church, closed for 13 years, became a school, Senior Pastor Shi Qi Gui a factory worker. The Community Church, shuttered 15 years, was used as a theater and an ammunition warehouse. It was equal-opportunity persecution. Most of the Buddhas tourists see in the largest Shanghai shrine are Guard replicas; the Red smashed the originals.

In 1979, Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping, began returning the temples to the Buddhists and the churches to the Christians. Chinese, he said, were free to practice their faith. There was no religious conversion here but an economic one; Deng was shrewd enough to understand that evidence of religious tolerance would help woo wary foreign investors. But why sweat the rationale when miracles occur?

Back to the churches came the people and the pastors, Shi

tered "house churches." In a report on worldwide religious persecution released just last week, the U.S. State Department faulted China for threatening, arresting and beating Christians. Catholic priests who claim loyalty to the pope (as opposed to the Chinese government) have been rounded up. Yet the State Department said the Chinese have more freedom than the Saudis, who have none at all. Non-Muslims may be executed or deported.

While the approach to Christianity varies from province to province in China, depending on the enlightenment of local leaders, Bays says there has been something of a crackdown over the last year. Leaders may fear that Deng Xiaoping's illness and death will create disorder, he says. 'All kinds of (Chinese) leaders, communist or not, have been tough on religious leaders for a very long time.'

Andrew Ku says nothing of the sort has happened at the government-sanctioned Community Church. Parishioners worship there without harassment or interference. Ku and other Christians I spoke with expressed no enthusiasm for tians suggest. Knowing C history, they think makir mands and issuing threat hurt the country's Chri and Christianity there than it helps.

I ask a small group of ond- and third-gene Christians, family friends, they would want me t Americans in general, Christians in particular, my return home.

Ho Ching Chang, wh the YMCA in Shanghai the communists shut it and sent him to labo sponded:

"Tell them that we them well. Tell them the over 25 churches in Sha and we are opening two Tell them Christianity is ing. Services are full."

So is the reopened 3 and Ho knows the m charge pretty well. It's hi

Barbara Mantz Dral been editorial page editor Journal Star since 1991 and winner of several state and I editorial writing awards. A n Dubuque, Iowa, she has live oria since she was 9 an Woodruff High School and University graduate. The ne ctor generations include

work, they thought that con version of her huge populace would topple pagan defenses the throughout elsewhere world and usher in the millennium." Millennium-thinkers generally believed in preaching and converting, as quickly as possible. Generation-builders, great-grandfather, like mv opted for a longer-term, indi-

rect approach.

In the minds of many Christians of the time, turning the church over to the Chinese was too risky, says Dr. Daniel Bays, a University of Kansas professor and author of "Christianity in China." They would misin-terpret the teachings, they would change the theology, they would effectively ruin what the missionaries had brought. No wonder some considered J.T. Proctor a heretic.

Yet he won. With others, the young missionary went on to found a university whose major purpose was the education of Chinese disciples. It opened in 1906. In 1913, he became the East China Mission's general secretary, in charge of American Baptist ministries in populous Eastern China. There he had the platform he needed to change minds and the tools to change practices. Ironically, the year he died, 1927, the triumphant Nationalists forced American mission groups to turn over most of their facilities — schools, hospitals and churches — to the Chinese.

The National Encyclopedia of American Biography credits Proctor with the "far-sighted wisdom" to commit himself to leadership Chinese great timidity characterized the mission body in this matter." Far-sighted he might have been, but I doubt even he saw far enough to anticipate what would happen to China and its

Christians.

Mao Tse-tung threw the last remaining missionaries out of China in 1951. Mildred Proctor was persuaded to leave in 1949, just in time to avoid ar-The new constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, but, like many laws in China, it was not enforced. Fearing split allegiances and the power of groups, communists forced churches to register and their leaders to acknowledge their loyalty to the new regime. Fearing foreign influence, they permitted no denominations, just one church body, existing with permission of the state and conforming to government policy. The religious affairs bureau would ensure compliance. Intolerable as these rules

rationale when miracles occur?

Back to the churches came the people and the pastors, Shi Qi Gui among them. The very faith the Red Guard had sought to kill had proved sustaining, Christians had been meeting here and there, risking arrest, daring not think of tomorrow. Under Chinese leadership, in circumstances too awful to be imagined, Christianity had triumphed.

Even before Deng stamped his approval, Andrew Ku had located Mildred Proctor, who'd been his youth group leader, and assured her of his well-being. When she returned to Shanghai in the mid-1970s, she slipped away from the organized tour to meet with him and other Christian friends.

In mid-June, I met with four of those who remain, in-Bao, the Betty cluding 81-year-old daughter of my great-grandfather's closest Chinese friend, a beautiful woman who helps bring this story full-circle; three of her children have made the United States their home, as Andrew Ku's daughter has, at least for now.

Many will argue that this was God's architecture, his plan. Though I do not agree, I learned long ago not to argue with people who see the world as a blueprint, drawn up ahead of time for men to follow.

I am more inclined to accept Bays' argument: This was a triumph for those who pushed to turn Christianity over to the Chinese. "If some of those older missionaries were transported to some of the Chinese church services today, they would think, gee, this has really changed. But it's lived, and it wouldn't have lived otherwise," he says.

It is important not to overestimate Christianity's role in China. Even the largest estimate of believers — 100 million accounts for only 8 percent of the population. A more likely figure is less than 3 percent.

Moreover, the government's tolerance has limits. Churches cannot seek new members, can't preach to the unconverted, can't baptize infants (membership is restrict-The "volunteers"). ed to Chinese can own Bibles, but only those made in China and distributed by the Amity Foundation.

They cannot attend services run by foreigners and are at risk attending some services run by Chinese, especially those conducted in unregis-

other Christians I spoke with expressed no enthusiasm for American interference, of the kind some right-wing Chris-

University at ctor genera son, two st grandchildre



中国基督教协会南京办事处

CHINA CHRISTIAN COUNCIL NANJING OFFICE

PAX MESSAGE FROM THE NAMING OFFICE OF CHINA CHRISTIAN COUNCIL.

TO REV. ROBERT F. RICE FROM REV BAO JIA YUAN DATE JAN.9, 1997

Dear Mr Robert Rice,

New Year's greeting from the Nanung.

Thave received your two letters of DEC 11 and 20 Sorry for not being able to answer you immediately. I have shared this information with the vice principal of the Nanjing seminary Ms Peng and the other colleagues. I will keep them informed of your

swould like thank you for giving me your detailed stinerary of the trip, so that we can trace you in case of needs

We have a very busy winter this time. I just came back from Beijing after participation in the 6th National Christian Conference. This is a very important event for our church in this turning point of the century. Bishop Ting has stepped down from his church position and new leadership has been elected. Dr. Wen-zao Han has been elected as the President of the CCC.

We give our thanks to our Lord for His wonderful guidance during the meeting and prayer for his continual blessings.

Our seminary will close soon for the spring festival, our New year according to our lunar Calendar.

i assure you that you will be met by one of staffs from my office with your name on a board in hand.

Wish you a successful trip and ministry whenever you go.

Sincerely yours,

Bao Jia yuan

Address, 17 Da Jian Vin Xrang, Nanjing 210029 China Phone: (025)4410835, Fax: 86-25-7741053 Cable: 4377 Nanjing, Telex: 342222 AFNJ CN 地址:中間 南京 大铜银转17号 邮编:210029 电话:4410835 传真:8652557741953 电挂,南京 437。 テいい 50~とび、4年1ヶ牙手を

CEO Briefind Vot. The No. 2 1797

Pray for Dr. Roger and Holly Ford and their family as Roger teaches at Vietnam National University this summer under the auspices of International Institute for Cooperative Studies.

Pray for Brian and Andrea Burnett as they finish the arduous process of adopting two Rus-

sian children.

Pray for Tom and Leslie Johnson as they lead in reorganizing the International Christian School in Prague.

Daryl McCarthy - Intl. Institute in In Studies
MEMO FROM THE CEO:
TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA

China is presently undergoing the most profound changes ever in its 6,000-year history. No other nation in recorded history has undergone a greater increase in the personal income of its citizens, in a shorter period of time, than what China is currently experiencing. This economic shift is causing major cultural, social and ethical changes.

Tolstoy predicted that the twenty-first century will be the century of China. Lee Kuan Yew, former prime minister of Singapore and well-respected political leader in Asia, predicted in 1994 that China would soon force a restructuring of the world's balance of power. "It's not possible to pretend this is just another big player. This is the biggest player in the history of man."

But the changes are not only economic and political. God is doing a massive work in China. A "Christianity fever" as it is called by Chinese scholars has broken out among Chinese intellectuals. Intellectuals are more interested in Christ and His teachings than in the churches which are often anti-intellectual, geared for the elderly majority and often led by poorly educated ministers. Departments of Christian Studies have been established at many universities, even in the China Academy of Social Sciences. Students and intellectuals are searching and asking questions. After a lecture by Hoyt Ford, an IICS partner, a student declared, "I am a Christian. What is your faith?"

While in China recently, I lectured on "Current Trends in American Evangelicalism" for a humanities class. The students listened closely. During the question and answer time they asked perceptive questions such as "In a post-modern era how can Christianity claim to be the final

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CHINA





No Deng to guide them now

Ready to face the world?

NE of urban Asia's most peaceful spots is the NE of urban Asia's most peace.

Protestant Cemetery in Macau. There lies a Scottish ship's boy who died in the early years of the 19th century "from the effects of a fall into the hold," according to his epitaph. "Deeply regreted [sic]" the captain added. Plenty of other foreigners lie buried there too: from Salem, Massachusetts, from Portsmouth in England and Gothenburg in Sweden. The place is a reminder, first, that China's relations with the rest of the world are more deeply rooted than the past few decades of Communist autarky might lead one to suppose. But in an oblique way it also illustrates China's perennial discomfort in joining a world order it has had no part in shaping: the boy died off Macau because foreigners were forbidden to sail up to Canton, in China proper.

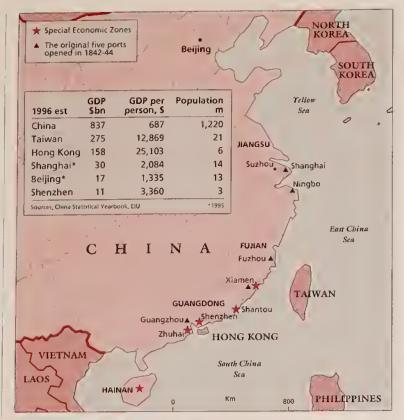
By the end of the 1840s the western imperial powers had forced China to open five ports to foreign commerce, taking advantage of the Qing dynasty's weakness. Britain was given, amongst other spoils, the "barren rock" of Hong Kong. More ports were to be forced open two decades later, followed by swathes of land leased "voluntarily" to the imperial powers. Trade with China flourished, and not just in narcotics and other goods. By the 1860s the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was running a monthly service from Hong Kong to San Francisco, using giant paddleships that carried 1,200 passengers; most of those in steerage were coolies who had been kidnapped or indentured. It was a period that did not reflect well on either China or the western powers. The west now affects a blithe amnesia about its rapine past, whereas China's humiliation, its leaders insist, will be expunged only by Hong Kong's return on July 1st this year—followed, as a codicil, by tiny Macau in December 1999.

Yet, with hindsight, the mid-19th century was the period in which two potent seeds were planted in the Chinese mind that are now sprouting vigorously. The first of these was a sense of a growing Asia-Pacific identity, typified by the 50,000 Chinese who by 1875 had settled in San Francisco, even though this was vigorously fought by the Qing rulers (and later by the Communists). The second of these seeds was the notion, however vague, of a "Greater China".

To appreciate the strength of the Asia-Pacific idea, look at one small example. In the early 1900s the father of "modern" China, Sun Yat-sen, who himself was educated partly in mid-Pacific, in Hawaii, sought support from the Chinese emigrants in and around Vancouver for the overthrow of the Manchus. Today many thousand members of Hong Kong's middle class have already left the British colony for that same Vancouver-pre-emptive refugees from the economic and political constraints they imagine China will impose when it resumes sovereignty. Vancouver now has an Asian population of nearly half a million, who have tranformed its economy, its culture, even its skyline. Its bonds with Hong Kong are still close, and families shuttle back and forth across the Pacific.

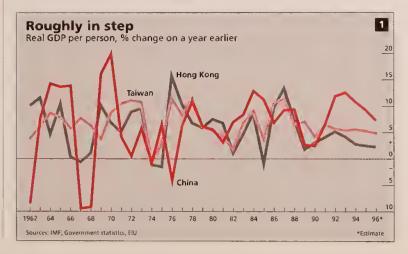
As for the notion of "Greater China", it is hard to find anyone who is comfortable with this much-discussed term. For a start, what exactly does it mean? Its political definition is mainland China

Much of the world is alarmed at China's strength, with or without Deng. It should be more alarmed at its weaknesses, writes Dominic Ziegler



plus Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau. Academic economists first used the term as shorthand for the trade and investment patterns that, over the past decade or so, have tied the rich economies of Hong Kong and Taiwan to the two neighbouring coastal provinces of mainland China, Guangdong and Fujian. But now Hong Kong's and Taiwan's capitalists are spreading their investments further across China: to Shanghai, to coastal regions further north, and even to China's less developed hinterland.

And what is the role of the 50m-odd ethnic Chinese, mainly in South-East Asia, whose wealth is said to equal that of China's own population of 1.2 billion? An extraordinary Singaporean scheme involving both the public and the private sector is under way to replicate the city-state's success in mainland China, on the cleared fields outside Suzhou, west of Shanghai (of which more later). The largest individual investor in China is Robert Kuok, a Chi-



nese Malaysian who owns the Shangri-La hotel chain. This survey will explore how the overseas Chinese are helping to transform the mainland.

To some, "Greater China" is merely a way of summarising the new linkages among the far-flung international Chinese community; to others, as Harry Harding of George Washington University in Washington, DC, puts it, "it is a prescription of the institutions that should govern those ties." This is where the trouble starts. For some of its neighbours, China is great enough as it is. Look at the growth in its military budget while other countries are cutting back on defence. Look, too, at the way the military has recently been used to stake maritime claims in the South China Sea. Add up China's resources and those of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau, and you get something monstrously strong, a fourth pillar of the world economy alongside America, Europe and Japan. Its trade volume would rival Japan's. Its military, sitting across the region's most vital sea-lanes, would combine the mainland's brute numbers with Taiwan's technology and training. Even the "Greater China" name tag carries resonances. Remember Grossdeutschland? The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere?

Yet such fears run ahead of a political reality which may in the end prove more alarming for the region. Bad enough that a majority of Hong Kong's people, according to opinion polls, would rather not return to the sovereignty of a state still organised on largely Leninist lines. Worse, almost all of Taiwan's 21m people are adamant that such a fate should not befall them. Taiwan is vigorously seeking independence in fact, if not—yet—in name.

China's leaders, for their part, are passionately committed to reunification. They want to put an end to the division left over from an unfinished civil war. Taiwan, in China's eyes, is worth ten Hong Kongs. The mainland's leaders have recently hinted that although they want reunification by peaceful means, their patience is not boundless. The year 2010 has been mentioned as a deadline. China has sworn to retake Taiwan by force if the Taiwanese declare independence, if foreign forces intervene there, if the island develops nuclear weapons or if it takes too long to come back into the fold. But will Taiwan, with modern weaponry, a democratic sense of local identity and many fans in the west, be cowed?

Testing Taiwan's resolve

China insists that Taiwan is an "internal" matter, and bristles at any suggestion of mediation, even by an impartial, largely ethnic-Chinese state such as Singapore. In 1995-96 China lobbed live missiles into the sea around Taiwan, within 15 miles of the island's main ports. President Lee Teng-hui's "informal" visit to America in 1995, and the prospect of democratic elections for Taiwan's presidency last year, had convinced the mainlanders that the island was moving, bit by bit, towards independence. The use of greater force in the future cannot be ruled out.

That might have unthinkable international consequences. A war across the Taiwan Strait, even an embargo of Taiwan, would threaten what the World Bank has called the "East Asian miracle". It could also bring China's military eyeball to eyeball

not just with America—which would probably defend Taiwan under most circumstances short of a declaration of independence—but also with Japan, which would lose its economic lifeblood if it were denied access to the South China Sea. A China "contained" by America and its allies would be a dismal admission that the 21st century was not going to be, as many now cheerfully predict, the "Pacific century".

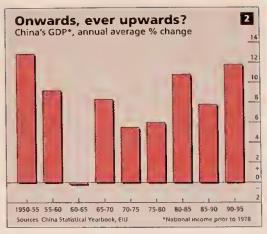
America has made it plain that, while it acknowledges that there is only one China, Taiwan is no internal issue. China's neighbours in South-East Asia agree. They cheered—if somewhat timidly—when a year ago the United States answered China's missile tests in the Taiwan Strait by sending two aircraft-carrier battle groups near the area.

Tensions in the region have eased fairly quickly since, as one Washington official put it, "both sides stared into the abyss." Taiwanese investment in China continues apace. China's sovereign neighbours have been quietly assured that territorial disputes will never be settled by force. Policymakers in Beijing, once as gung-ho about China's economic growth as western commentators, now sound a more measured note. They want to scotch the idea that China's rise will upset the international order.

An assistant foreign minister, Chen Jian, recently chided The Economist for "in the past exaggerating China's economic development, saying that in a very short period of time China would be the second biggest economic power in the world, and then the biggest. These predictions are unfounded, and they have led people to conclude that the rise of China will inevitably unbalance the region. Such arguments don't hold water. China is not a superpower. It is not at present. And it will not be one in the future."

Don't celebrate yet

Moreover, relations between China and America, after a disastrous few years, have taken a lurch for the better. Bill Clinton's second administration has confirmed that it will make stable Sino-American relations a priority. Trade tensions have eased. And the two presidents are planning an exchange of state visits later this year, a first for both Mr Clinton and Jiang Zemin. This survey will slightly spoil the party, partly because there is little to suggest that Sino-American relations have reached a permanently higher plateau. "I am afraid we're falling prey to excessive expectations again," sighs a Washington official. But the main reason for pessimism is that areas of weakness within China's body politic are becoming more apparent.





The economy, for instance, may well not carry on at the fast pace (8-10% a year, till kingdom come) predicted by China's boosters, nor even at the steadier rate (7-8%, for the time being) that Mr Chen would prefer. One reason is that China's growth rates are anyway overstated by the official statistics. Another is that foreign investment no longer looks like the panacea it was made out to be. A third is that China's domestic economy is much less homogeneous than outsiders think. Talk about the economy of a Greater China is premature when the mainland's economy remains highly fragmented as well as over-regulated; and when a looming crisis in public-sector finances could set back development for years.

China's harsh, outdated and impracticable political arrangements are no help. Even in ordinary times the Communist apparatus is monstrously hard to handle. But 1997 will be no ordinary year, for several reasons. The immediately obvious one is the death on February 19th of Deng Xiaoping, the 92-year-old paramount leader, raising uncertainties of succession. Next, Hong Kong returns to China in mid-year. Further ahead, the 15th Communist Party congress in the autumn is expected to set the tone, and determine the leadership, for the next five years. Insiders think it will be one of the party's most crucial congresses ever.

Any one of these events might spark a popular challenge to the leadership in Beijing, even from inside the party. Such popular protests also have the potential to destroy the party's unity, as very nearly happened with the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. Never mind the toasts, the fireworks and the displays of patriotism on July 1st: for China, this is not going to be an easy year.

Through China's eyes

Put yourself into the polyester suit and behind the thick-rimmed spectacles of a Communist Party cadre, and take a look at the world as seen from Beijing.

China is a huge land, roughly the size of the United States, and vulnerable. It cannot be defended by brute military force alone, and not just because internal threats tie up so much of that force.

China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) may be the world's largest, yet it is outnumbered by two to one when the armies of its seven biggest neighbours are added together, to say nothing of America's huge Pacific presence. And China's military technology is put in the shade by most of its neighbours'.

Four-fifths of China is rugged and inhospitable, yet it is through these western frontierlands that

It looks scary out there



five invasions of nomads have arrived to conquer part or all of the Chinese state, most recently until 1911. Even now only a third of China's people live in this western region, but it contains the bulk of China's mineral resources, notably oil—one reason for maintaining a large military garrison.

Of the hinterland's sparse population, a fractious minority subsumed under earlier imperial expansion now chafes at Chinese rule. In Xinjiang, China's westernmost province, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Kyrgyz and Uighurs seek to rebuild ethnic and nationalist ties with the new central Asian republics, sometimes under a pan-Islamic banner. Recently the province has seen a spate of terrorist bombings. The risk of fresh rebellion is another reason for keeping a powerful military presence there.

Separatist tendencies are strongest in Tibet. The government in Beijing has tried to counter them with a blend of economic development and suppression of support for the Dalai Lama. That support grew stronger as it was forced underground. Over the past decade, large numbers of ethnic (Han) Chinese have moved in to seek a new living in Tibet's larger towns, but this has failed to quell Tibetan longing for independence. Even in Inner Mongolia, where Hans now outnumber Mongols sixfold, Mongolian nationalism still has to be kept down by tough government measures.

The least fractious two-thirds of China's population, about 800m, live on the eastern one-fifth of its land. This is an area roughly the size of America's eastern seaboard—plus Alabama, West Virginia and Pennsylvania—but with nearly six times the population. Sheer numbers do not necessarily bring security; for a start, the region's economy remains predominantly rural, and so harder to de-

Sensitive soul

fend. A rural campaign against the cities was, after all, how the Communists got to power.

Nor is the coastal plain easy to defend. In the 19th century western imperial powers had no trouble invading it. Earlier this century Japan managed to wreak breathtaking brutality on this region. Today the region remains vulnerable to attack. It would be devastated by the air superiority alone of Taiwan, with which China is technically still at war. America's military strategists can allow themselves the luxury of discounting any future conflict with another power on continental American soil; China's equivalents have to assume that any such conflict would take place on their home ground.

What of China's neighbours, of which it has no fewer than 14 with shared land borders? At least four of those borders—with Russia, North Korea, Tajikistan and India-are disputed. In addition, China has sea claims overlapping with Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea and Japan. China also lays claim to three territories not yet under its jurisdiction: Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. And then there is its "sphereof-influence boundary" across the Pacific with America, outlined by two American political scientists, Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, in a new book* on Chinese security concerns, which this section draws on. By the authors' count, therefore, "China's territorial interests overlap with those of 24 other governments." China has this century been in military conflict with no fewer than seven: Russia, India, Japan, Vietnam, South Korea, Taiwan and America.

The strategists in Beijing will admit that China is probably as strong as it has ever been, and its borders as secure. Relations with India are improving after past bloody conflicts. Sino-Russian relations have gone from strength to strength since the collapse of the Soviet Union; until then, the 4,000-mile border had been the world's most heavily armed, with 1.5m troops massed along it, backed by nuclear weapons. Last year China even signed a border agreement with Vietnam, a communist vassal-turned-foe.

Whatif

Yet, in Chinese eyes, the keenest vigilance is still called for. A nuclear-arms race might develop on the Korean peninsula, pushing Japan, China's old aggressor, to acquire its own nuclear weapons. North Korea's despot regime might yet try to divert its sullen masses with a full-scale invasion of the south, with frightening consequences for China. Trade and investment between China and South Korea would certainly be hit; and North Korean refugees would probably flood into Manchuria. In the end, though, a Korean unification is likely to be led by South Korea. Then Japan might tempt South Korea under its security umbrella.

Further south, China has little influence over the maritime states of South-East Asia, whose economies look towards America and Japan rather than China. What if they entertain a superpower that is hostile to China? This happened quite recently when tiny Vietnam entertained two powers at once,

^{*&}quot;The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress", by Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross. W.W. Norton, 1997



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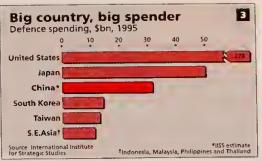
the United States and the Soviet Union. China dreads the risk of superpower encirclement.

In the 1950s America contained China from what Douglas MacArthur called America's "unsinkable aircraft carrier", Taiwan. It was this containment, along with Maoist ideology, that helped push China into its quarter-century of economic isolation. Next, China's Soviet ally turned enemy, tilting for influence in North Korea on one side of China and Vietnam on the other. This helps to explain China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979 and its support for Cambodia's genocidal Pol Pot regime: the Soviet Union was threatening to squeeze China from both her northern and southern flanks. China's warming to America was a cold-war necessity.

For the moment, the cadre notes, Russia lies quiet in Asia, wracked by domestic troubles. Russia and Japan are in dispute over the Kurile Islands, and relations between the two countries are coolish, which suits China just fine. China also welcomes America's defence presence in the Asia-Pacific region to guard against Russian military resurgence. And America's defence pact with Japan is a useful way of preventing a new rise in Japanese militarism. If America were to withdraw from the region, it would be a disaster in China's eyes.

On the other hand, China must keep a sharp watch for signs that America and Japan might be combining to contain or divide it. Both countries have parliamentarians who loudly deny the Chinese government's legitimacy. In this light the strengthened security agreement signed a year ago between Bill Clinton and Ryutaro Hashimoto, Japan's prime minister, looks disturbing to the Chinese. Separately, America has talked about helping Japan build a theatre missile-defence system. Why, asks the cadre, should it do that unless it wants to encircle China?

China's greatest concern is for territorial integrity. Hong Kong and Macau, separated from China since 1841 and 1557 respectively, are at least to return soon. Yet both Britain and America are trying to undermine the future exercise of Chinese sovereignty in Hong Kong by playing the human-rights card. After Hong Kong's return, attention will soon be turned to wooing back Taiwan by peaceful means. Yet that very attention will increase the risk that such a policy might continue to fail, as it has done so far. And if America really believes in "one China", as it says it does, why is it constantly inter-





vening in Taiwan's favour? China cannot afford to give an inch on territorial issues, or else Tibetan separatists, Hong Kong liberals, Taiwanese independents and (who knows?) the man on the Beijing omnibus would take a mile.

Satisfaction not guaranteed

Remove the glasses, and it is clear that China's foreign policy is frantically reactive, dedicated to stopping Taiwan moving towards independence, averting fresh challenges to its territorial claims and preventing new power balances from shaping the region. China lives in dread that new power arrangements amongst China's near-neighbours will threaten its external security. Yet it palpably lacks the power to impose its views on others. So its diplomacy comes in two distinct styles: high principle and pragmatism. Under the first heading, the emphasis is on sovereignty, not open to discussion. Many visitors to Beijing have been treated to the lecture that begins: "The whole world admits there is but one China ... ", and ends: "Five thousand years of history have proven that anybody who tries to divide China will be cursed for generations."

The second style involves cool calculations of national interest and balance of power. Thomas Christensen of Cornell University calls China the "high church of realpolitik". This, ironically, would have served it very well in dealing with the western imperial powers that knocked down its doors in the 19th century. Today it sets China dangerously at odds with the American-led concept that foreign policy can have legitimate concerns—human rights, self-determination—that transcend national boundaries. For now, the danger remains that China will be, as Messrs Nathan and Ross put it, "not a satisfied power".

The importance of foreign-devil money

THE road to China's future is a muddy track some miles outside the old merchant town of Suzhou, in Jiangsu province. The emptiness of this land, unpeopled and untilled, is remarkable enough in this, the most densely populated countryside in the world. More remarkable still is the plan for the new "super-city" that is about to spring up here in its allotted 70 square kilometres. Over the next few years, if all goes to plan, some \$20 billion will be spent on the prosaically named Suzhou Industrial Park, and 600,000 people will move in.

The colour of the money is important, for it is

Singaporean. The local government intends to fashion the park in Singapore's image, putting aside all that is shoddy about China's development: electricity that flickers on and off, sewage that runs out into ditches, the thicket of bureaucracy and corruption. Singaporean companies are to help build watertreatment and power plants. Developers are building first-world houses. And the Singaporean government is overseeing what it insists on calling the "software transfer": passing on knowledge. Some 220 Chinese officials, for instance, are currently in Singapore learning about public administration,

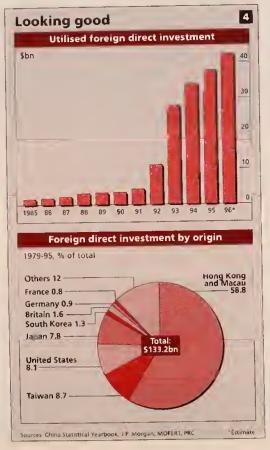
Much—too much is expected of foreign capital

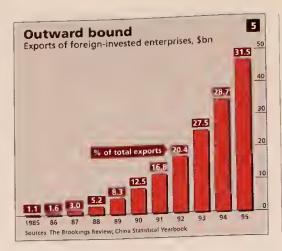


and will then apply their new-found skills to the industrial park. "Adapt Singapore's experience and develop a first-class China," sing the billboards around the park. Nor is it just Singapore's economic record to which the Chinese aspire. The sales pitch for the park sets great store by Singapore's "balanced social order"—its nanny government and tame population. China's leaders reckon that Singapore's masses have been behaving better than their own, and are keen to learn from the example.

Singapore's park at Suzhou, though, is only the latest and most striking example of the way foreign money is mixing with local to transform the flat countryside in Jiangsu and adjacent coastal provinces. It is a region where, as Paul Theroux wrote in one of his travel books, "yesterday's paddy field is tomorrow's high-rise, and a thousand factories bloom." Suzhou, for instance, has been Shanghai's back garden for much of the history of the People's Republic, shipping quantities of ducks and vegetables down the canals of this watery province. When in the 1980s the central government signalled a more relaxed attitude towards development in the countryside-while still keeping a firm rein on Shanghai—Suzhou became unstoppable. Foreign investment really took off in 1992, and "we are now like a fish back in water," says the mayor, Zhang

The first and still largest wave of foreign money came from what the Chinese government calls "compatriots" in Taiwan and Hong Kong. These investors often set up joint ventures with so-called township and village enterprises (TVES, which are loosely-defined local collectives) to produce textiles or simple processed goods for export. Low-wage





businesses are now thinking of moving to poorer parts of the country, victims of their own success.

Another country area on the opposite side of Suzhou has also been turned into an industrial zone over the past five years. In 1992 the average annual income in the area was 1,000 yuan (\$180); today it is said to be over 7,000 yuan. Now international companies such as Du Pont, Siemens and L'Oréal are setting up greenfield operations in the zone to make products that demand well-paid skills. For example, three electronics companies, Acer, Philips and Sharp, are building plants that will soon turn out 3m computer monitors a year.

Foreign money is everywhere. Over 200 foreign-funded firms and around 1,000 expatriates have set up in and around Suzhou. The Singaporean international school for expatriate children is only six months old, but the Canadian headmistress is already wondering where to get the flags for her little charges' 17 home countries. The country wit of Jiangsu province has got it taped. "With no farming," runs a ditty, "there's no security. With no industry, no wealth. With no commerce, there's no flexibility. And with no foreign joint ventures, there's no short-cut."

Not all it seems

Foreign investment, then, would seem to be China's lifeblood; and all the propaganda welcoming foreigners reinforces that impression. Moreover, since over three-fifths of that foreign money comes from Hong Kong and Taiwan, the idea of a Greater China gets a boost.

But there is less to all this than meets the eye. True, China is easily the developing world's biggest magnet for foreign investment, but then it is a very big and populous country. On a per-head basis, the figures look less impressive. In 1994 China attracted \$26 of foreign investment per head of population—a lot more than India (\$0.9) or Indonesia (\$15), but a lot less than, say, Mexico or Chile, or the ex-communist countries of Poland and Hungary, to say nothing of Malaysia, which attracted \$226 a head. A report* by the Economist Intelligence Unit (a sister company of The Economist) points out that "these countries take structural political-economic issues, from judicial transparency to political plu-

^{*&}quot;Multinational Companies in China: Winners and Losers". Economist Intelligence Unit, 1997





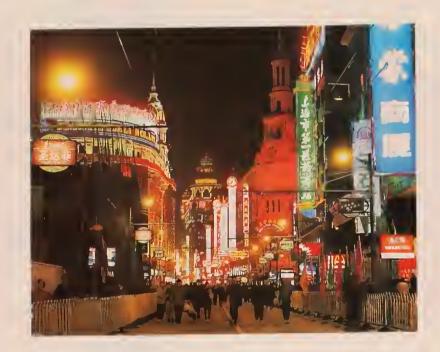
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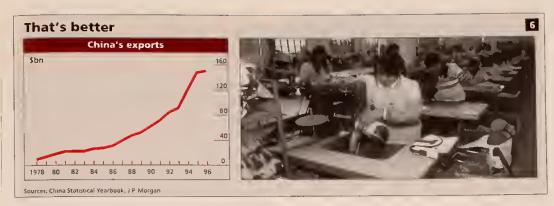


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ralism, more seriously than China."

Moreover, China's official figures for foreigncapital flows are exaggerated. Many township enterprises and even government departments siphon money out of the country, usually into Hong Kong, so they can bring it back in as foreign capital. That way it attracts all the tax breaks and other privileges granted to foreign ventures. The best guess is that between a quarter and a third of apparent foreign-capital inflows may be mainland, or "falseforeign-devil", money.

There is no doubt, though, that foreign money has been the engine of China's phenomenal export success, which in less than two decades has lifted the country from autarky into the ranks of the world's ten biggest exporters of manufactured goods. Twelve years ago exports from foreign ventures made up only 1% of all China's exports. Today the figure is about 30%, and growing voraciously.

To put it another way, foreign ventures export about 15 times more than you would expect on the basis of their contribution to China's industrial output. That forces two nagging conclusions. The first is that foreign enterprises, for all their export success, still account for only a tiny proportion of China's economy; and rather a lot of that consists merely of importing components, bolting them together and shipping them out again.

There is a second, more alarming conclusion. It is that any gains in efficiency, management and technology that foreign ventures may be enjoying are not spilling over into the state-owned sector, which the leadership swears will always occupy the "commanding heights" of the Chinese economy.

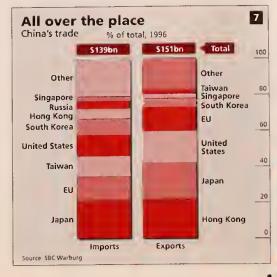
To anyone with a 100-year memory, this should sound familiar. In the late 19th century China's reformers, the so-called "self-strengtheners", thought they could cherry-pick the best western ideas and technologies and apply them selectively at home. The attempt proved disastrous. China had chosen only superficially from western models. Japan, on the other hand, had borrowed deeply. The difference showed in China's naval rout in 1894-95 which, amongst other things, opened the way for half a century's Japanese colonisation of Taiwan.

A century later, many of China's reformers once again expect foreign technology and management practice to provide a cheap and easily controlled way of modernising China's economy. Instead, the foreign presence has accentuated the shortcomings of a decrepit state. Ten years ago state-owned firms produced two-thirds of all manufactured goods, and accounted for four-fifths of export growth. To-

day, propped up with subsidies and hiding behind tariffs and other protection, state firms still account for half of all manufactures, but barely a fifth of the growth in exports. Losses in the state sector, taken together, are now said to exceed profits. About 70% of the 100,000 state enterprises are said to lose money. Under a free-market regime, the state's oil refiners, machine-builders and food-processors, along with many others, would perish.

Most Chinese policymakers, and many foreign advisers, remain sanguine about the state sector, pinning their hopes on an endless and confusing stream of "reforms". These include the introduction of "modern management systems", the conversion of enterprises to joint-stock companies, and the involvement of outsiders. In short, anything is possible, bar the privatisation of the dominant companies, for that smacks too much of capitalism. Meanwhile, plenty of hearty pilfering is going on, encouraged by a system in which losses are picked up by the state and gains are pocketed elsewhere.

Some reformers think that the state sector can be left to wither on the vine, choked by the luxuriant growth of private enterprise. Yet that state sector imposes huge costs on the rest of the economy, big enough to throw doubt on the widely-held assumption of a resurgent Greater China, and on the expectation that China will continue to grow in the future as it has done in the recent past. The next section will outline some of the immediate economic dangers, including a looming banking crisis, and suggest ways of averting them.





The death of gradualism

Time to launch into bolder reforms

CHINA'S reformers bristle at the idea that Russia's brutally swift and sweeping economic reforms in the mid-1990s might have anything to commend them. China, its officials insist, remains the world champion of the reform process. Over the past 20 years or so it has lifted some 300m people out of poverty, the biggest such shift in history. The key to its reforms remains gradualism, the process Deng Xiaoping called "fording the river by feeling for the stones."

Yet to describe reform in China as gradualist is to rewrite history as it unfolds. The most enriching of China's reforms so far—those that allowed farmers to work for themselves rather than for the collective, and those that made township enterprises possible—did not happen gradually. They spread across the land like bush-fire, not because the central government said they should, but because it chose not to stop the spontaneous entrepreneurialism of its farmers. What the government is really doing is to rush constantly to catch up with the country's natural inclinations.

Now spontaneous reforms have run their course, and those parts of the reform process over which the government has had more control—trade liberalisation, for instance, and better financial accounting in the state industries—have shown up the state's inner contradictions in a harsher light. Those contradictions are immense, and so far show no sign of being resolved. The best start the leadership could make is to declare the death of gradualism, and announce that the state system's ills are to be tolerated no longer.

Bankrupt

State industry owes the state banking system a great deal of money. For a start, the 5 trillion yuan (\$600 billion) of bank loans outstanding in China, ninetenths of it to state industry, account for an unusually high proportion of all financing, equivalent to about 70% of GDP. China has only one private bank, and no meaningful capital markets, so the job of financing investment rests almost wholly with the state banks.

Those banks also have an unusually high proportion of bad loans stuck on their books, which they have small hope of ever having repaid. Officially, these make up 22% of the total, but China's definition is so lax that by any other country's standards the figure would be twice as high, according to Nicholas Lardy of the Brookings Institution, a Washington think-tank. That makes 2.2 trillion yuan of bad loans, equivalent to well over 30% of GDP. For comparison, the bad loans that arose from America's savings-and-loan crisis were equivalent to about 2% of GDP, and those of Japan's banks are less than 10% of GDP.

Bad loans in China would swallow up banks' capital several times over if banks had to account for them: in fact, the state just allows them to pile up. By any conventional calculation, the banking system is insolvent. Paradoxically, though, it is awash with cash, put there by private households.

The Chinese, in the absence of things to spend money on, save the equivalent of nearly 50% of GDP, several times more than in the West. Nearly all of that money is deposited with banks, if only because there are few alternatives: just a tiny stockmarket, plus some wild-west markets for, say, PVC or mungbean futures.

But before long, depositors may choose to save less and spend more, for instance on housing, which the government wants to promote. Savers may also find better channels for investment, whether formal or informal, perhaps through newly returned Hong Kong. If and when that happens, the banking system could implode with alarming force.

That fear is reason enough for hurrying along wholesale reform of the banks. But there are other reasons, not least the need to prepare the ground for an independent capital market, for which China has a crying need. Until then, the country's savings are being channelled not even to the poor, but to the undeserving. Nine-tenths of bank loans go to the state sector. Household and corporate savings are drawn off in the prosperous coastal areas and, through the state credit plan, recycled to those parts of the country where state industry looms large: the north-eastern smokestacks built with Soviet help in the 1950s, and (often defence) industries that settled in China's hinterland in the 1960s, this time to escape Soviet attack.

How does private and collective industry, with few formal channels of credit available to it, manage to make any headway at all? One answer must be that state industries are lending on some of the money they know they cannot use themselves. It works, after a fashion, but it is hardly the best way of allocating credit. And since state banks have already proved such poor judges of creditworthiness, state industries seem unlikely to fare much better.

There is a way of cutting the knot in China's financial system, provided it is done soon, without risking years of uncertain growth. Mr Lardy at Brookings suggests that the government should issue government bonds to the value of the banks' bad debts, allowing the banks to write off their dud loans and to recapitalise themselves, on the understanding that from that point on the state would not pick up any further losses. The state-owned enterprises would then have to face competition without subsidy. For many that would mean bankruptcy, which so far the government has allowed to happen only to the smallest firms. Many other en-

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China	Hong Kong	Taiwan
80.0	91.5	92.0
68.6	78.7	74.5
44.0	7.0	5.0
31.0	281.0	312.0
	80.0 68.6 44.0	China Kong 80.0 91.5 68.6 78.7 44.0 7.0

terprises, though, suddenly free of debt, might prove viable.

Issuing bonds worth 40% of GDP would be a huge undertaking. Luckily, China has a low ratio of government debt to GDP: just 12%. A debt-to-GDP ratio of 52% would not be outrageous by international standards. Still, the government would face heavy interest payments on the bonds. At present the central government collects only about 11% of GDP in revenues, an extraordinarily low figure by international standards. Assuming an interest rate

of, say, 10% on the bonds, interest costs alone would amount to about 4% of GDP a year, or more than a third of central-government revenues. However, there are plenty of revenues that accrue to other levels of government, bringing total government revenues to about 35% of GDP, closer to the international norm—if only the financial bureaucrats in Beijing could get their hands on them. Bringing fiscal power back to the centre would be easier if China's constitution were given a thorough overhaul, a subject dealt with in a later section.



City life

THE banking system plays a large part in keeping China's economy fragmented. Credit flows to where the state's credit plan dictates, not to where the highest return can be earned. With that credit, goods are produced that nobody wants to buy. Provinces, cities and counties protect their own enterprises by keeping out products from other places, either by putting up road blocks or, less visibly, by charging arbitrary duties and disrupting distribution channels. Labour mobility, at least in the cities, remains paltry.

If every locality has its washing-machine maker, its steel producer and its textile firm, there is little scope for economies of scale across the country. In China the potential for these economies is vast. The fragmented economy also prevents regions with plenty of potential consumers from generating higher levels of growth from within. Think of America's Atlantic seaboard, where a sophisticated, self-contained economy runs in a ribbon from Boston to Baltimore; or of Japan, where metropolitan sprawls define three largely self-sufficient economies around Tokyo, Nagoya and Osaka-Kobe. In theory, China should be ripe for this "megalopolis" model of economic development.

Take the Yangzi delta, including Shanghai, plus Anhui, Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. This region has a population and an economic output equivalent to that of Indonesia, itself the world's fourth most populous country. With one-sixth of China's population, the delta accounts for one-third of China's output. Edward Leman, of Chreod, a Canadian consultancy, argues that the delta is a megalopolis in the making.

In practice, China has a long way to go. Local protection abounds. At the same time Mao's legacy of central planning is still a force. Much heavy industry has been arbitrarily scattered about the country, far from markets, which means goods have to be shipped arbitrarily from one end of the country to the other, despite its creaking infrastructure. In 1994, according to China News Analysis, a newsletter run by European Jesuits, some 34% of the freight carried on China's railways was shipped between regions. Japan's inter-regional traffic adds up to only 15% of the total.

Proponents of the megalopolis model argue that it would ease the terrible transport bottlenecks which are slowing down China's development, and that mega-cities are the most efficient way of preserving as much as possible of the 12% of China's land area made up of fertile plains. However, an expert on urban development in Shanghai, who would rather not have his name published, says those enthusiasts have their priorities all wrong. He thinks it is more important to link together China's disparate coastal successes—Guangdong and Fujian in the south, Shanghai and the Yangzi delta in the middle and the Bohai gulfand Manchuria in the north. Yet main roads along the coast often peter out as they reach provincial borders. Instead, the central government is spending huge sums tying the Yangzi delta economy to the river's distant hinterland.

Back in that hinterland, in the Dickensian city of Chongqing, city officials appear to be gripped by sea-fever and dreams about exports. Yet only 12% of Sichuan's inter-provincial goods traffic moves along the Yangzi; the bulk of it runs along a north-south axis. Cargo from Chongqing takes a full two weeks to travel from the factory door to the mouth of the Yangzi. It is hard to imagine that Chongqing can emulate the coastal provinces' export success. Yet Chongqing's leaders, like those of many inland cities, continue to look seawards.

Urbs in rure

No modern great power is a rural power. China needs to turn into a country of city-dwellers; yet its rate of urbanisation is low. In 1995, it is reckoned,



Chongqing goes off to sea

Heading for megalopolis?

Number of cities and towns	1980	1995
Cities total, of which.	223	640
population over 1m	15	32
0 5 - 1 0m	30	43
0 2 - 0 5m	70	192
under 0.2m	108	373
Towns	2.870	16,992

only 29% of China's population lived in cities, though the figure seems to be growing by half a percentage point a year. Still, much of this urbanisation is a question of, as the government puts it, "leaving the land, not the countryside". The result has been indiscriminate rural industrialisation on a huge scale. Factories are scattered about between vegetable plots; development

zones are drawn up haphazardly, wasting scarce farmland; pollution is overwhelming. Zhejiang province, one of the most prosperous thanks to township enterprises, now has an urbanisation rate of 39%; given the province's current indiscriminate growth, there seems little scope for more. By contrast, South Korea, with a land area and population roughly the same as Zhejiang's, has an urbanisation rate of 81%

The alternative to rural industrialisation is to allow the big cities to grow and to encourage them to link up with others, much as Boston is linked by

road and rail with Baltimore. China's government, though, is unwilling to see China's biggest cities swell by much. The government in Beijing has always had a horror of country people swamping the city (though recently it has found itself largely powerless to prevent this). It also suspects that large, confident cities might challenge Beijing's cultural and political supremacy. It was not until the early 1990s that Beijing removed the handcuffs that had for so long restrained Shanghai's development.

One way or another, China's cities are making up for lost time. But by international standards they have a long way to go. Only 43% of Chinese city households have modern sewage systems. In booming Shanghai, only three-fifths of households have flushing lavatories; electricity consumption per head is little more than half Taiwan's, and a quarter of America's. The question the leadership should be asking itself is this: at what point will city-dwellers cease to be content with flushing lavatories and start demanding other kinds of luxuries, such as greater government accountability and more freedom of expression?

Living with Big Brother

By getting round him

POWER in China is exercised through the largest coercive apparatus in the world, designed mainly to shape the public conduct of China's citizens, as well as their private behaviour between the bedsheets. A secondary aim is to garner benefits for its insiders, mostly—although not exclusively—of a material kind.

At the top of the apparatus is a very small group of individuals. Kenneth Lieberthal, in a recent book*, plausibly suggests that a mere 25-35 people determine all major policy decisions in this vast country. The executive of this power elite—the standing committee of the politburo, currently seven strong—oversees the main functional areas of power, which are known inside the Communist Party as kou, or gateways. The most powerful and centralised of these is the party affairs kou. Policies decreed by the kou are then implemented by loose groupings of bureaucracies known as xitong.

The propaganda and education xitong, for instance, uses moral coercion through its current campaign to study "Jiang Zemin Thought". The political and legal affairs xitong, which controls the public-security apparatus, runs prisons and "reeducation through labour" camps. Harry Wu, whose inside knowledge of China's penal system was acquired the hard way, puts the number of prisoners at 15m-20m. Since they are put to work, they are an important economic resource for the state.

Besides looking after prisons, this particular xitong also has plenty of other things to do. Public security requires a large apparatus: one report in 1989 mentioned that the top layer alone of munici-

pal officials in Beijing and Shanghai numbered 11,500 and 7,100 respectively, not counting lower-level bureaucrats and policemen on the beat. The People's Armed Police is reckoned to have added 200,000 to its rolls since the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. The apparatus also makes use of a wide network of informers.

Cradle to grave

The xitong that have perhaps the most influence on an individual's life are those concerned with organisation and personnel. Every employee of a state-owned company or government bureaucracy is assigned to a work unit, or danwei. The danwei, crucially, control subsidised housing. They also keep files with each individual's life history. A black mark in these files—or the whim of a boss—can hold back someone's career indefinitely, without chance of appeal. And if ever an individual moves jobs, the files, black marks and all, are passed on.

China's repressive control of its urban population is less centralised than its equivalent in the old Soviet Union, giving it a degree of flexibility that may help to explain why the Chinese Communist Party has outlived its Soviet counterpart. But that advantage may not last. Private business is flourishing, whereas state-owned enterprises are starting to shed workers; and private housing is beginning to spring up. This is liberating millions of urban Chinese from much low-level nannying. It has led some foreign scholars¹ to look for the makings of a civil society in urban China, allowing people with common interests to club together and keep the state out of their business.

So far, scholars have found little evidence of this. For a start, the Communist Party does not brook the idea that groups of people with common interests can make representations to it. Party officials will sometimes go on "inspection tours" of the



*"Governing China", by Kenneth Lieberthal. Norton, 1995

See Oavid Wank, Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs, January 1995; Christopher Earle Nevitt, The China Journal [formerly Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs], July 1996; Jonathan Unger, The China Quarterly, September 1996

country, but in essence policy is handed down from above, not passed up from below. That is what "democratic centralism" is all about.

Nor does private enterprise in China operate on the kind of liberal market principles that all the talk about "economic reform" might suggest to outsiders. There is no legal framework that adequately protects property rights and resolves contractual disputes. Entrepreneurs, therefore, need some other guarantee to protect their investment from capricious or predatory forces.

They find such protection in the patronage offered by local government officials. This has sapped power from the central authority, an important consequence of the reforms that bear Deng Xiaoping's name; but it has enhanced the local authorities' power in equal or greater measure. It would be irrational for entrepreneurs to fight the system; instead, they seek a houtai laoban, or backstage boss. Recently in a coastal city, over a lunch of escargots and filet mignon, a Hong Kong developer patted the Buick-driving mayor on the arm and explained to this correspondent with a grin: "He's my dictator, my benevolent dictator. He dictates, and I build."

Country air makes free

Yet there is one huge area where the state has yielded great freedom to individuals: on the land. Until the late 1970s, farmers were tied down, forced into collectives and made to deliver their rural "surplus" to the government. Then, village by village, farming families started to bribe their way out of the collective. They undertook to grow their share of the grain quota privately, and put the rest of their efforts into chasing other sources of income. The "household responsibility system", meaning decollectivisation and the introduction of markets for rural products, was formally endorsed by the central government in 1978.

One enormous consequence of that relaxation was something none of the leadership had foreseen, as Deng Xiaoping later admitted: the proliferation of township enterprises. Such enterprises now account for two-fifths of China's industrial output, and are largely free of the danwei system of civil control. Moreover, farmers generally have their own houses to live in. All this means that the majority of the 800m people who live in China's countryside are largely free of onerous obligations to the state.

Not only that, but the farmers, for their part, have started to undermine the state apparatus. Kate Xiao Zhou, of the University of Hawaii, describes in



No Party up here

a new book* how they have formed independent guilds and even banks, weakening the state's dominance of the financial system. They also circumvent the danwei system at state enterprises by moving to the cities and doing the menial jobs that city workers, however underemployed, refuse to do.

Since at any one time over 100m farmers are working away from their home village, China's onechild policy, widely observed in the cities, has proved hard to enforce in the countryside. On the other hand, there are early signs that growth of township enterprises, by making women better off, is doing more for population control than all the state's coercion ever managed.

The farmers' movement, in its sheer anarchic exuberance, is certainly anti-communist by temperament. It is revolutionary in that many farmers have freed themselves from the land to which the Communists had chained them. But that does not make it pro-democratic. Rather, the movement is apolitical, spontaneous, unrepresented.

China faces a multitude of tasks that demand a degree of accountability from government. A legal system has to be developed, a nightmarish level of pollution has to be controlled, scarce resources such as land and credit have to be allocated, disparities between west and east, city and countryside, have to be managed. Yet the Communist Party considers calls for accountability—ie, a representative government—as nothing short of subversion.

*"How Farmers Changed China", by Kate Xiao Zhou. Westview, 1996



Look, no dissidents

THE last flicker of Chinese dissidence was probably snuffed out on October toth last year, when a Hong Kong newspaper published a brave tract from China. In a country where open political debate is out of the question, historical dates become highly charged; this one more so than most because it is the anniversary of the day in 1911 when a Chinese republic was proclaimed by Sun Yat-sen,

whose mantle today is claimed by both the Communist Party in Beijing and the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) in Taipei. The date also happens to be the anniversary of the 1945 agreement between these two parties to convene a national assembly that would draw up the details of a liberal democracy in China, guaranteeing the principles of equal status for its political parties and freedom of speech, reli-

All critics have been silenced



gion and assembly for its citizens.

The Chinese dissidents' tract published last October called for a return to those principles. It also threw in, for good measure, a call for the impeachment of President Jiang Zemin, who insists on saying that the army is under the control of the party, rather than the state, as China's constitution lays down. One of the two authors, Liu Xiaobo, a literary critic and a force in the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, was sentenced without trial to three years' "re-education through labour". The other, Wang Xizhe, was already considered a habitual offender, who since 1974 had spent most of his time in jail, and had been calling for more accountable government whenever out of it. On October 11th Mr Wang was spirited out of China through Hong Kong.

What articulate opposition is left in China? Wang Dan had been one of the Tiananmen movement's student leaders. When he came out of jail in the mid-1990s, he was still speaking out in his thin, squeaky voice, so back he disappeared. Late last year he was sentenced to ten years' jail for subversion. Wei Jingsheng, perhaps the Chinese dissident bestknown among outsiders, had gone to jail in 1979 for wanting to add to Deng Xiaoping's list of "four modernisations" in industry, science, farming and defence: why not, he had asked, democracy too? He was released in 1993, but rearrested six months later and charged with attempting to overthrow the government. He is now serving a 14-year sentence. When Wang Xizhe passed through Hong Kong last October, he made it clear that opposition in China had been more or less wiped out.

No safety valve

Paradoxically, this ought to cause the regime some concern. At various times in the past the Communist Party has tolerated a degree of open expression, if only because some parts of the leadership have found it useful. No doubt the current leadership thinks that its harsh stand against open political debate helped the regime survive the turmoil of 1989 at home and in Eastern Europe, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Yet with every dissident voice in the country silenced, any popular challenge to the leadership that might one day arise becomes more likely to lead to a violent explosion.

Foreign observers, particularly business people who have noted the country's economic strides, often appear to underestimate the potential for large-



Han Dongfang sees guns ahead

scale unrest in China. Not so the country's own leaders. The Communist Party came to power on the back of such turmoil. Many of the current leadership were victims of the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76. Deng Xiaoping gave warning of the international consequences that might follow from unrest in China: for instance, millions of refugees flooding across borders into neighbouring countries, including into Hong Kong. The Communist Party came precariously close to losing its unity during the Tiananmen Square protests. The need for "stability", vaguely defined, is a constant refrain from the political leadership.

One source of challenge to such stability, some think, might be disenfranchised workers. Han Dongfang is a defender of workers' rights who rose to prominence during the Tiananmen protests. Afterwards he nearly died in prison, but was eventually allowed medical treatment abroad. China will not let him back into the country; he now works from Hong Kong on Chinese labour issues. Mr Han does not believe that trade unionists should involve themselves in politics, but he criticises the government and its official trade union for treating any attempt to improve working conditions—asking for a cool-air fan in a furnace-shop, for instance, or setting up an evening school for women migrant workers—as potential subversion.

Mr Han is soft-spoken and not given to hyperbole, but he has a serious message: "I don't want to see the Communist Party lose power through violence. But unfortunately the economics of the state-owned sector and the party's own harsh politics are making that likelier. It's slowly happening already: strikes, violence, rebellions in the countryside. One day, in a year or two, the government is going to use guns against people. That means war, and I'm sure machineguns and tanks are not going to stop that kind of rebellion . . . Time is running out."

Not forgotten, not forgiven

The memory of the Tiananmen massacre itself is spark enough for a future conflagration. The standard line from party officials, foreign businessmen and many ordinary people is that the Tiananmen events have been forgotten; besides, everybody is too busy making money. But this is wishful thinking. One reason why thousands went to Tiananmen Square was to protest against corruption inside the party. Today corruption is worse than ever, and many people openly resent the party's mix of moralising and money-grubbing.

"There are so many people with grievances," says Wu Guoguang, an academic at the Chinese University in Hong Kong and a former adviser to Zhao Ziyang, Jiang Zemin's predecessor; Mr Zhao was ousted from power at the height of the student protests in 1989. "They'll wait for some public signal, and then they'll come together when they know others will do the same thing." Resentment has turned to popular protest in the past, often catalysed by the death of a political figure. That adds to the uncertainties now that Deng has gone.

The memory of Tiananmen is etched in too many minds to be easily erased. The protests were only the most recent in a long line of student-led demonstrations. Many Beijing residents took to the streets to stop troops advancing on the students in

the square. In his book on Tiananmen*, James Miles, a BBC reporter, points out just how many people were closely touched by the killings in Beijing on June 3rd and 4th 1989: "Let us say, very conservatively, that 5,000 civilians were killed or injured that night. If that figure is then multiplied by the number of close relatives and friends, the population profoundly affected by what happened

*"The Legacy of Tiananmen: China in Disarray", by James Miles. University of Wisconsin Press, 1996

is already substantial. Add the hundreds of people arrested in Beijing and their friends and relatives as well as the tens of thousands of people . . . who were out on the streets trying to stop the troops coming in, and the figure is huge."

It is said that revolutions occur when rising expectations are dashed. Deng Xiaoping understood this, which is why, after Tiananmen, he urged that economic development be sped up, not slowed down. That postponed the dashing of expectations for a while. But not necessarily for good.



In search of satisfaction

HINA faces challenges that a casual observer, looking at the department stores along Shanghai's Nanjing Road, might take too lightly. Its population of 1.2 billion equals that of America, Europe and Russia combined. Up to 310m of that number are now reckoned to live below the international poverty line. China's environmental problems are horrendous. The number of suspended particles in the air is up to ten times higher than what the World Health Organisation deems acceptable. Lung disease accounts for one-quarter of all deaths. In north China, giant water schemes are being devised to bring supplies for farming from central China. One medium-sized city on the north China plateau has announced that it intends to move, lock, stock and barrel, 40km (25 miles) north because its groundwater has become too polluted to live with.

Other projects on an imperial scale are now under way. The Three Gorges Dam being built on the middle reaches of the Yangzi River will create a lake 600 kilometres long, calling for the resettlement of more than 1m people. Another huge dam is being built further north on the Yellow River. The problems such schemes are designed to ease-grain supply, flood control and irrigation—are supposed to be the preoccupations of China's rulers. But consider just a few of the other things the government also has to do. At home, it needs to balance the competing demands of the regions, centralise and get a grip on the tax system, and clean up the mess in the state-enterprise system without creating an army of dispossessed workers.

On the international stage, it has to ensure a smooth transition in Hong Kong. It has yet to become a full member of a world trading order for which it remains ill-equipped. It has to convince America, Japan and its neighbours that it is not bent on expansion, whilst keeping a lid on nationalist pressures within its own borders. And it has to talk Taiwan into believing that the mainland is a nice place to come home to.

Vertically challenged

The structure of the government that has to deal with these challenges is stunningly inadequate. As Mr Lieberthal of the University of Wisconsin puts it, China has many organisations, but no institutions. Co-operation across organisations, and often even within them, is rare. A journalist visiting various subdivisions of the same government department is struck by how few of his colleagues a bureaucrat knows. Formal lines of communication stretch only vertically through each organisation, and so to the top of the country.

It is at the top that the structure is least adequate of all. Power wielded there is intensely personal, and impervious, indeed hostile, to representations from those outside the structure. The power elite is inscrutable, and accountable only to those within that small peer group. Certainly, there is a Communist esprit de corps: talk about the end of ideology in China is exaggerated. But mechanisms for transferring power at the very top simply do not exist.

These uncertainties will be reflected at this autumn's 15th party congress, which will attempt to set the course of China's leadership for the next five years. Deng Xiaoping, even had he lived, would have been too frail to play any part in it. It has been clear for a while that this will be the first congress to lack a super-authority of the stature of a Mao or a Deng who can settle disputes between the party's factions.

So Deng's chosen successor, Jiang Zemin, a man who may be said to have risen to power without trace, will have to establish a robust claim to continue as head of party and state. Li Peng, the dour and unpopular prime minister, will have to stand down from his premiership, having served his term, but will not go quietly. He may look for some other position holding real rather than symbolic power, possibly the state presi- Jiang's hand, for now dency. Yet that means Mr Jiang would have

to surrender something from his own package. Others will be coming up behind.

It is possible, though unlikely, that if Mr Jiang establishes his authority, he will push through a widespread liberalisation of China's political system. More likely, though, Mr Jiang may consider that since vision has played little part in bringing him to power, it should not have much of a role in shaping his future either.

In the absence of political reform, America's relations with China may sour. Ever since the Tiananmen massacre, America has shown impatience and disappointment with the Chinese regime. Some members of Congress now threaten to link the renewal of China's most-favoured-nation trade status to the way it behaves in Hong Kong after the handover. But such threats betray an unrealistic assessment in Washington of America's ability to

What China, and others, can do to





shape events in China, and breed resentment.

On the other hand, western powers, and America in particular, could bring about great change in China if they were to think more about the long haul. They could start by working harder at treating China as a future great power. A China bound by international rules provides a better guarantee of good behaviour than a China blackballed.

Rights and obligations

The first step should be a concerted effort to bring China into the World Trade Organisation, a body that Chinese reformers strongly feel can strengthen their hand back home. "If we are allowed into the system," says Li Zhongzhou, director-general of the trade ministry, "we'll have no choice but to take structural measures to ensure we meet the rules of the system. But now we are outside the system, and we are expected by America and Europe to take obligations without any rights. That won't rub."

There are other international clubs that China should be encouraged to become part of. For instance, although America is concerned about Chinese arms exports to Iran and Pakistan, China is not a member of the Missile Technology Control Regime, which regulates exports of ballistic missiles. As a victor in the second world war, China has a permanent seat in the United Nations' Security Council. Yet it is excluded from the G7 group of rich countries. China does not now deserve a place among the G7. But the West should spell out the conditions that would produce an invitation.

Nor should America underestimate the informal power of a liberal culture. Whereas China's present leaders went to study in Moscow, their children, along with thousands of compatriots, go to Yale, Chicago or the Harvard Business School. Although an anti-American diatribe published last year, "The China That Can Say No", caught the attention of the western press, many Chinese think it was just a piece of dormitory juvenilia. Far more telling is the publication this year of a sympathetic and subtle account of life in America, written by the son of the foreign minister, Qian Qichen. Such a book, speaking frankly about Chinese women's liberation in America, the democracy movement in exile, and freedom from the danwei, would not

have been allowed even five years ago—especially if written by a member of a party leader's family.

Meanwhile China is lapping up western technical advice. The World Bank helps the government with reform of state enterprises and the welfare system, the International Monetary Fund with centralbank reform. Foreigners are also involved in reform of the legal system. (There is a long way to go: the justice ministry intends to train 100,000 new lawyers by the turn of the century.) Even a think-tank affiliated to America's Republican Party is working with the government on encouraging democracy at the grass-roots level in the countryside. It is a base on which, many hope, broader political reform might be built in the future.

Relat

Reform, one way or another, will have to come. Perhaps the least painful way would be for the Chinese constitution to be made into something more than a football for the Communist Party to kick around. For example, the constitution states that the National People's Congress, the country's parliament, is the highest body in the land. In practice, it is a snooze chamber that takes its orders from the party, even if there are signs that it is stirring a little. Some reformers suggest that the party factions that now slug it out behind the scenes should go public, forming representative blocks in the National People's Congress. It is hard, though, to imagine the Communist Party waging its battles in the open.

Nor is it easy to imagine democratic Taiwan ever accepting the rule of any Communist Party, open or closed. China has pinned its hopes of reunification on the formula of "one country, two systems", an idea that is meant to give the government in Beijing sovereignty over Taiwan but preserve Taiwan's autonomy. The same formula, in less flexible form, is to be applied to Hong Kong after the handover. Chen Jian, the assistant foreign minister, says that "few countries in the world have adopted such an enlightened policy." To the Taiwanese, it sounds rather like a fox offering to guard the chicken coop.

"One country, two systems" was thought up by Deng Xiaoping, and perhaps now that the paramount leader has gone, his successors will entertain other structures. Certainly a federal structure devolving power to China's regions would make the job of governing China much easier than the present unwieldy, uncertain dictatorship. It would greatly ease tensions in Tibet, for which the Dalai Lama says he is not seeking independence, just self-determination. And it would increase confidence in Hong Kong. Under such conditions, a confederation with Taiwan might, just, prove acceptable. "Breaking up China to make it whole." You go to prison for suggesting less.

A historian, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, recently summed up the last days of the Qing dynasty at the turn of the 20th century as "an inert system, rolling under its own weight." This is not an accurate description of daily life in Communist China today, but it does summarise the political system at the top. That system badly needs a new impetus. Far better for everybody, and much safer, that this should now be supplied by somebody at the top.

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A budding bourgeois liberal?

WORLD EDUCATION LEAGUE

Who's top?

Some countries seem to educate their children much better than others. Why? No comprehensive answer has emerged yet but plenty of lessons are being learnt from the tests which reveal the educational discrepancies

A CLASS has 28 students and the ratio of girls to boys is 4:3. How many girls are there? Which of the following is made using bacteria: yogurt, cream, soap or cooking oil? Simple enough questions in any language (the answers, by the way, are 16 and yogurt). But when half a million pupils from around the world were set questions like these, some countries, just like some pupils, did very well and some very badly.

The tests were set for the largest-ever piece of international education research, the Third International Maths and Science Study (TIMSS). Of the 41 nations participating in this first phase, Singapore was teacher's pet: the average scores of its pupils were almost twice those of South Africa, bottom of the class

(see table 1).

East Asian countries have overtaken nations such as America and Britain which have had universal schooling for much longer. America came 17th in science and 28th in mathematics. England came 25th in maths and Scotland (whose pupils were tested separately) came 29th. The four richest East Asian economies took the first four places in maths.

Some former communist countries, notably the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Bulgaria, also did significantly better than their richer western neighbours, even though they spend much less on education. Six of the top 15 places in both maths and science went to East Europeans. It seems that how much a country can afford to spend has less than you might think to do with how well educated its children are. American children have three times as much money spent on their schooling as young South Koreans, who nevertheless beat them hands down in tests.

International educational comparisons like the TIMSS study have been subjects of growing academic enthusiasm and criticism since the 1960s (for the controversies, see box on next page). Teachers, though, have been almost entirely

2+2=?	, .	1		
13-year-olds' average Maths	score in	TIMSS* (Int average =S00)		
1 · Singapore	<u> </u>	Singapore 607		
2 South Korea	607	Czech Republic 574		
3 Japan	605	Japan 571		
4 Hong Kong	588	South Korea 565		
5 8elgium (F†)	565 :-	Bulgaria 565		
6 Czech Republic	564	Netherlands 560		
7 Slovakia · · ·	547	Slovenia 4 560		
8 Switzerland	545	Austria . 558		
9 Netherlands	541	Hungary 1 554		
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13 France	538	Slovakia 544		
14 Hungary	537	Russia 538		
15 Russia	535	Ireland 538		
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17 Ireland	. 527 -	United States 534		
18 Canada	527	Canada - 531		
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23 Germany	509	Israel 524		
24 New Zealand	508	Hong Kong 522		
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26 Norway	503 ,	Scotland > 517		
27 Denmark	502	Spain 517		
28 United States	500	France 498		
29 Scotland	498	Greece \$ 497		
30 Latvia	493	iceland 494		
31 Spain	487	Romania 486		
32 iceland	487	Latvia 485		
33 Greece	484	Portugal 480		
34 Romania	482	Denmark 478		
35 Lithuania :	477	Lithuania 476		
36 Cyprus	474	8elgium (W*) 47		
37 Portugal	454	Iran Cara 470		
38 Iran	3 428	Cyprus 46		
39 Kuwait	392	Kuwait 430		
40 Colombia	385	Colombia 41		
41 South Africa	354	South Africa 32		
*Third international Maths and Science Study } atFlanders = , \$Wallonia . Source: TIMSS				

hostile and most governments have held themselves aloof from the arguments, fearing embarrassment. A poor showing in the league table would give political opponents ammunition, while the studies might be used to accuse ministers of starving their education system (or, possibly, of wasting taxpayers' money on a grand scale).

Now, attitudes are changing, at least among politicians. Over the past ten years or so, governments' desire to know more

about how their schools compare with others, and what lessons can be learned from the comparison, have begun to outweigh fear of embarrassment. More countries took part in TIMSS than in its predecessors, and the attention paid to its findings by the world's politicians, educators and the news media was much greater than for previous studies.

Politicians do their homework

President Clinton described the test in his state-of-the-union message in February, as one "that reflects the world-class standards our children must meet for the new era." America's poor overall showing has sparked calls for the adoption of a national curriculum and national standards for school tests—including from Mr Clinton himself. These calls are based on the observation that the countries which did best in the study tended to have national frameworks of this kind.

In a television interview in December, the French president, Jacques Chirac, described as "shameful" a decision by his education ministry to pull out of an international study of adult literacy which was showing that the French were doing badly. And in Britain last year, Michael Heseltine, the deputy prime minister, brushed aside objections from officials in the Department for Education and Employment, and published the unflattering results of a study he had commissioned comparing British workers with those in France, America, Singapore and Germany-chosen as key economic competitors.

The Germans, in turn, were shocked by their pupils' mediocre performance in the TIMSS tests. Their pupils did only slightly better than the English at maths, coming 23rd out of 41 countries. In science, the English surged ahead (though not the Scots) while the Germans were beaten by, among others, the Dutch, the Russians—and even the Americans. A television network ran a special report called "Education Emergency in Ger-

Caesar vs. Christ in China

Millions worship, with and without the blessings of the state

By BRIAN PALMER

n a sweaty Sunday morning, a few blocks from Tiananmen Square there is standing room only for the first service of the day at Beijing's Gangwashi Protestant Church. A whitehaired pastor in a loose white shirt preaches the Gospels of Matthew and Mark from a pulpit in the main hall. Next door in a narrow overflow room, latecomers wedged into pews watch the sermon on six TV monitors bolted to the ceiling. Outside in the concrete courtyard, fourdozen later arrivals fan themselves in the heat as they await prime seats for the next sermon. During a break, parishioners queue up in the tradition of mainland China-every way but in a single line-to buy cloth-bound Bibles for \$1.80. By day's end, a church elder predicts, Gangwashi's three Sunday services will have drawn more than 2,000 worshipers.

Whenever outsiders accuse China of curbing religious freedom-as the U.S. State Department did last week in a review of persecution of Christians around the world-officials in Beijing point to churches like Gangwashi. They recite Article 36 of China's Constitution: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief."

State stats. The authorities also rattle off numbers that show significant increases in believers and in places of worship erected or restored in the nearly 20 years since the Communist Party last agreed to tolerate public worship. "Every two days, more than three new churches are built," Luo Guanzong, chairman of the government's Three-Self Patriotic Movement of Protestant Churches in China, tells foreign journalists. "There are over 12,000 churches nationwide"-14 times more than when Mao Zedong's regime took over in 1949.

The state has approved 70,000 places of worship, including 10,000 Buddhist temples, 30,000 mosques, and 1,000 Taoist temples, according to the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB), the government body that oversees China's five recognized faiths-Islam, Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism, and Protestantism. In all, the RAB says, more than 100 million people



Gangwashi Church is one of 70,000 places of worship sanctioned by China's government.

ascribe to state-authorized religions.

Each religion has its own training center. At Beijing's all-male China Islamic Association, students devote two thirds of their time to Islamic courses and the rest

to secular subjects. In a mandatory politics class, an instructor lectures students on the primacy of the state and party over religion. "They should know that this is a socialist country," says the school's deputy director, Yang Zongshan, a Muslim.

Believers also know that in China "religious freedom" is a relative term. Boundaries for religious practice are set by the officially atheistic Communist Party through bodies like the United Front Work Department and enforced by central, provincial, and local government organs, primarily the RAB and the Public Security Bureau. A 1994 regulation requires all religious gatherings of more than 10 people to register with the RAB. That rule and an Article 36 caveat-"No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the

health of citizens, or interfere with the educational system of the state"-give the authorities plenty of room to decide what is proper and what is not.

China's leaders have long feared religion's capacity to erode political power. "No emperor would tolerate an organized group that he did not control," says Deng Zhaoming, a Hong Kong-based church watcher. Nor will China's Communist rulers yield control. "In China," says Deng, "Caesar is above Christ, no question. Christ can never be head of the church. It's the state that's the head of the church."

But the state, try as it may, does not rule every house of worship. The State Department review shows 10 million people in China's state-sanctioned Protestant churches. But perhaps three to seven times that many, the report says, worship in so-called "house churches" outside government control.

Membership in China's unregistered Catholic churches, the State Department reports, is "far larger than the 4 million persons registered with the official Catholic Church." Members of the unsanctioned house churches recognize papal authority. Members of the state-approved churches, a RAB official says, "may pray for the pope but they must accept that the Vatican cannot interfere with our internal affairs, including religious affairs."

Mao's mayhem. The state's mistrust of the faithful, always a deep concern, rises to the surface at times of tension. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, revolutionary Red Guards desecrated churches, temples, and mosques. Clerics and believers were beaten and sometimes killed in the hysterical drive to install Mao as the supreme deity. As religious believers went underground, public worship came to an end.

Three years after Mao's 1976 death, the party agreed to let houses of worship reopen. Still, when authorities detect religion intersecting with territorial or sovereignty issues, the response can be ruthless. Tibetan Buddhists have been beaten and imprisoned for publicly backing the exiled Dalai Lama instead of the China-appointed Panchen Lama. In the mostly Muslim province of Xinjiang, where a bus bomb allegedly planted by separatists exploded in February, crackdowns on underground gatherings and mosques are routine.

What China is waging, the State Department report complained, is a "nationStates, lack the necessary understanding of China's religious situation."

Nearly everyone in China understands that Beijing's primary aims are social stability and party supremacy. But not everyone is in step with the government's goals. In Beijing, lay pastor Yuan Xiangzhen, who spent 22 of his 83 years in prison for his beliefs, continues to hold small religious meetings even after the authorities disbanded his Sunday house church; a year ago, he brazenly baptized followers in a public pool. In the northern provinces, South Korean missionaries proselytize illegally among ethnic Korean Chi-



Behind Yuan Xiangzhen, defiant at 83, is John 14:6—"Jesus said: I am the way, the truth, and the life."

al campaign to suppress unauthorized religious groups and social organizations"a result of a central policy directive issued last October. "Local authorities used threats, demolition of property, extortion of 'fines,' interrogation, detention, and reform-through-education sentences in carrying out this campaign," the report said. "Some leaders of such groups were detained for lengthy investigation, and some were beaten." Among the Christians reported still in jail are four bishops of the unauthorized Catholic church.

The State Department report, the result of a mandate from Congress, was dismissed in Beijing as "irresponsible comments" on China's domestic affairs. "The religious policies of the Chinese government have the endorsement and support of the Chinese people," said a foreign ministry spokesman, Tang Guoqiang. "Western countries, including the United nese and fund construction of handsome churches well beyond the means of the locals. Even Western missionaries preach the gospel in China-but in small numbers and with great discretion.

Inside and outside the official faiths, converts who have embraced spirituality or simply swapped the old Marxist orthodoxy for more-exotic religious ones are multiplying, swelling the depleted, aging ranks of religious practitioners. Many Chinese accept state dominance of religion as the price they must pay to worship at all. Some go to Sunday services out of "simple interest," says the church elder at Gangwashi. But a great number of China's Christians, like this man himself, worship because they truly believe. "Jesus Christ has great power," the elder concludes as he gently helps a disabled women in her 80s down the church steps into the hot Beijing sun.

CNCR China News and Church Report



A Publication of China Ministries International Rev. Jonathan Chao, Ph.D., President; Rev. Myron Ivey, Editor/ U.S. Director

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November 10, 1997

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Persecution in China: A Party Member's View

Editor's note: The following interview was published by Compass Direct and appeared in the World Evangelical Fellowship Religious Liberty e-mail Conference <Religious-Liberty@xc.org> on October 25th. It provides significant insight into the attitudes toward Christianity in China today and is therefore reprinted for CNCR readers.

Persecution in China: A Party Member's View

This interview was conducted recently in China with a high ranking official whose job it is to monitor religious activity. A Christian in an atheistic situation, he granted the interview only on condition of strict anonymity. He is an authority on the growth of Christianity and the precise attitude of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party toward it.

Many of our readership may find his point of view disturbing. However, we reproduce it because, (a) there are many in the so-called "third wave" house churches (began after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre) run by younger leaders who agree with his view, and (b) we feel it is important to grasp any chance to gain a clearer understanding of the attitude of higher level officials toward Christianity in general. China's government remains immensely secretive, and reliable "inside" information on the attitude of high level leaders toward Christians is scarce indeed. As you will read, there is much to be encouraged about, and much to be concerned about.

Compass Direct: Let's start by asking you about the hottest topic of 1997: persecution. In recent months there have been denials by Han Wenzao and Ye Xiaowen that there is any such thing as religious persecution in China. Or perhaps Han would nuance it to say that persecution is mostly a thing of the past save for some overzealous, outdated cadres who may still harass believers in certain areas. What is your view on this?

ANSWER: I tend to make a distinction between persecution and discrimination. I would say that there is very little persecution, but massive discrimination. Let me explain.

When you become a known Christian in China, you automatically lose certain rights. It is harder to obtain a job, a good education, trips abroad, etc., because the society is essentially run by members of the Communist Party for professing Communists. That's discrimination. It happens to every Christian.

Then, if you are a Christian, you are not free to practice your faith as you choose. You are obliged to keep it private, and practice it only in officially supervised settings. Chinese officials have made a silly mistake about religion. They equate it with public worship. So they think, if

- Published twice monthly for Christian leaders, researchers, and the media
 - Subscription rates: US\$25 for one half year, US\$45 for one full year
- Inquiries should be sent to: China Ministries International, 1605 E. Elizabeth St., Pasadena, CA 91104
 - Tel. (626) 398-2343 Fax (626) 398-2361 Email 104435.2547@compuserve.com

you can pray and sing in a church, then you are free. They have no concept of Christianity as a way of life. Again, that is highly discriminatory.

By persecution I tend to think of Christians being thrown in jail, beaten, harassed, physically abused in some direct fashion. I believe there is very little of that relative to the size of the Christian population. Now I may be too far up the tree to know what's going on at the roots, but I would be very surprised if there were more than a couple of hundred people incarcerated for their Christian faith. The last two years have seen some hundreds of arrests, but few have been sentenced, and most released. That is regrettable, and it is wrong to say there is no persecution, but it is minimal when you consider the Christian community may number more than 50 million.

Compass: You do sound a bit sanguine about the fate of 200 people who may be languishing in jail for their Christian beliefs.

A: Well, I don't mean to, it's just that here in China we are used to millions being persecuted, and if you lived here you would recognize that as an enormous improvement ... to have only hundreds incarcerated, as opposed to millions. And I might add, even of those jailed, I would say in nine cases out of 10, the government has a very good reason to come hunting them.

Compass: What do you mean by "a good reason?"

A: I mean something foolish that virtually requires the government to take action.

Compass: Can you give an example?

A: Probably Xu Yongze. He has been getting more and more unorthodox in recent years, as well as abusing his power within his own movement. He attracted attention by his extremism.

Compass: But it is denied that he is truly a cult leader.

A: By whom?

Compass: Those who have contacts with the movement.

A: That's precisely the problem. Other house churches that have contacts with the movement have themselves called him a cult leader. There is evidence that some of his followers are total charlatans, who have been hiding lights up their sleeves and then surreptitiously shining them in dark, crowded rooms as "the light of the Spirit."

Compass: But that can hardly be typical.

A: Maybe not. All I'm saying is that there was enough that was peculiar about the movement to attract unwanted government attention. Other more orthodox movements do not have so much to fear. Don't get me wrong. I'm not defending his arrest. I believe that if someone wants to teach that salvation is gained by performing a handstand over a bowl of bean curd that still does not merit a jailing. In a free society, we should laugh at them, not jail them. And Xu I am sure is a Christian, but he is in jail partly because of his own extremism. Another case is the recently arrested Xu Gouquing. He is a Christian house church leader, but what attracted the government to him was that he was criticizing Chinese foreign policy, claiming that the government was wrong to give up sovereignty over Mongolia. Sure, he shouldn't be arrested for expressing silly political opinions, and so he, like Xu, is persecuted. But it is partly their own doing.

Compass: You say there is actually positive news to report on persecution. Can you explain?

A: It's really extremely complex. Let me put it this way: there is much more religious freedom today than 20 years ago, and all indicators suggest that there will be much more freedom in 20 years time than today. China is committed to capitalism, which will continue to open the country up to Western ways, and the Maoist ideology--the motor of past persecution--is worn-out. So the good news is, religious persecution and discrimination are declining in the long term, and will continue to do so.

The bad news is, the 1990s have seen a regression--the mid-nineties quite a strong regression--of this general trend. It does not alter the underlying positive pattern, but it is a cause for sadness and concern. The fundamental issue is that the government of China feels very insecure right now, and religious policy is always linked to that.

Compass: Since you have so many contacts with high-ranking Communist Party officials, tell us what their attitude is toward religion in general and Christianity in particular?

A: Puzzled and confused. High-ranking leaders are genuinely puzzled that there is so much turning to religion in today's China. Li Ruihan recently declared to a committee, "Why is religion growing so fast? We need to know the answer to this before we can do much about it." Buddhism especially is booming in the provinces. It's the fastest growing religion by far. But Christianity is also growing, especially among educated young people. Now this is hardly surprising to those who knew that, before Mao, China was swathed in folk religion, and so this is it simply re-emerging from the embers. But to a generation that genuinely thought religion had been virtually exterminated, its resurgence comes as puzzling. "Where did religion go if it wasn't destroyed?" said one of the Party leaders to me recently. I answered, "It went where it always is ... the heart."

There is a different attitude to Christianity as opposed to, say, Daoism or Buddhism, because it is seen as a more subversive religion. Chinese leaders hold the Christian churches of Eastern

Europe partially responsible for toppling the communist regimes in 1989 and 1990. Many foreign Christians are "stop-at-nothing" characters, who see the spreading of Christianity as something the state has no jurisdiction over, so they smuggle Bibles into China and conduct underground teaching seminars and so forth—the Chinese leaders are very threatened by those types of people.

And then of course you have to realize that religion and nationalism seem to go together here. The Muslims of Xinjiang seem to use their religion to foment separatism. The Buddhists in Tibet use their religion to maintain a separate identity. Again this is very threatening to a Communist Party leadership that really can't motivate people like these religions can.

Compass: How does all this translate into an actual policy on religion in China?

A: Well, this is where the confusion comes in. If you are puzzled about where religion comes from and what it is, how on earth do you control it? In 1995 it was decided to have a single new religious law for the whole of China. It was introduced on a trial basis in Shanghai in 1996, but was not a success. All the religions complained it was too restrictive. So now there is uncertainly about whether to have a nationwide religious law at all, and there is this unevenness of application and policy which is so confusing for everyone.

Compass: Would you say that this policy involves stamping out the house churches?

A: No, I don't think that is a conscious intention in the minds of the top leadership. Religious policy in my view is dependent upon whether the Party leadership feels politically secure or not. If the leaders feel insecure about their rule, about their ability to govern China and lead China into the next century, they become more controlling, more defensive. This affects everything, from emerging trade unions to house churches. This is a time of great insecurity right now, so anyone who meets together in unofficial groups in this society right now is heading for trouble. That is why is it so hard for the house churches now, and probably will be for a few years more.

But I don't want to present a totally negative scenario. The very puzzlement, confusion and defensiveness that Party officials show toward religion right now are actually an opportunity for the Western church.

Compass: What kind of opportunity?

A: Well, quite simply, to join the debate on what to do with religion. Party officials are open to advice as never before. Of course, this advice has to be given from people who have taken the time to make friends with these officials. Fierce name-calling or denunciation from another country will not open the door. But for those who seek to befriend the leaders of this country, a golden opportunity awaits them to actually assist and guide leaders in their attitude to religion through this crucial period.

Compass: Can you give an example of this?

A: In a certain province I knew of a Party official who hated religion. He used to take any opportunity to jail Christian leaders. But a foreign Christian came to the city and began to build a hospital. The two of them had to work together on administrative matters, and for a time the official persecuted the local Christians more, just to goad this new foreign Christian. But as they worked together, a friendship slowly formed. The Party official was greatly impressed that this man would come to China and work for subsistence wages, when he could be getting rich in his own country. It turned out that the official's wife had died in the 1960s of starvation, and some Christians had tried to resurrect the corpse. He had been bitter toward them ever since. But after this encounter with this visitor, he began to ease off on the persecution, and even intervened when some of his officials persecuted other believers.

The point is that the persecution in this case did not come from any ideological vendetta, but a private hurt that was eased through friendship. This could be happening all over China if Western Christians would make friends first with these officials.

Compass: But there must be a place for firmness too? The persecuted must be named and their persecutors pressured themselves?

A: Yes, I don't think one should stop all criticism. Western Christians must articulate the cry of the oppressed; otherwise they would not be the true church of Christ. But one must be careful not to be so negative that you give off hate towards persecutors. Some of the criticism leveled against China this year I believe was hate-based. Some Christian leaders are involved in religious persecution issues because they hate communists, pure and simple. I've met them, so I speak from experience. To them I would say, keep the persecuted on the map by all means. That is your duty. But remember, there are no communists left, only Party members. Take the ideological sting out of your crusade. It's inappropriate. Mao is not still running this country, and if you realize that, you can have more influence than you dream. But you must become friends first.